THE DESCENDANTS OF HUGH AMORY

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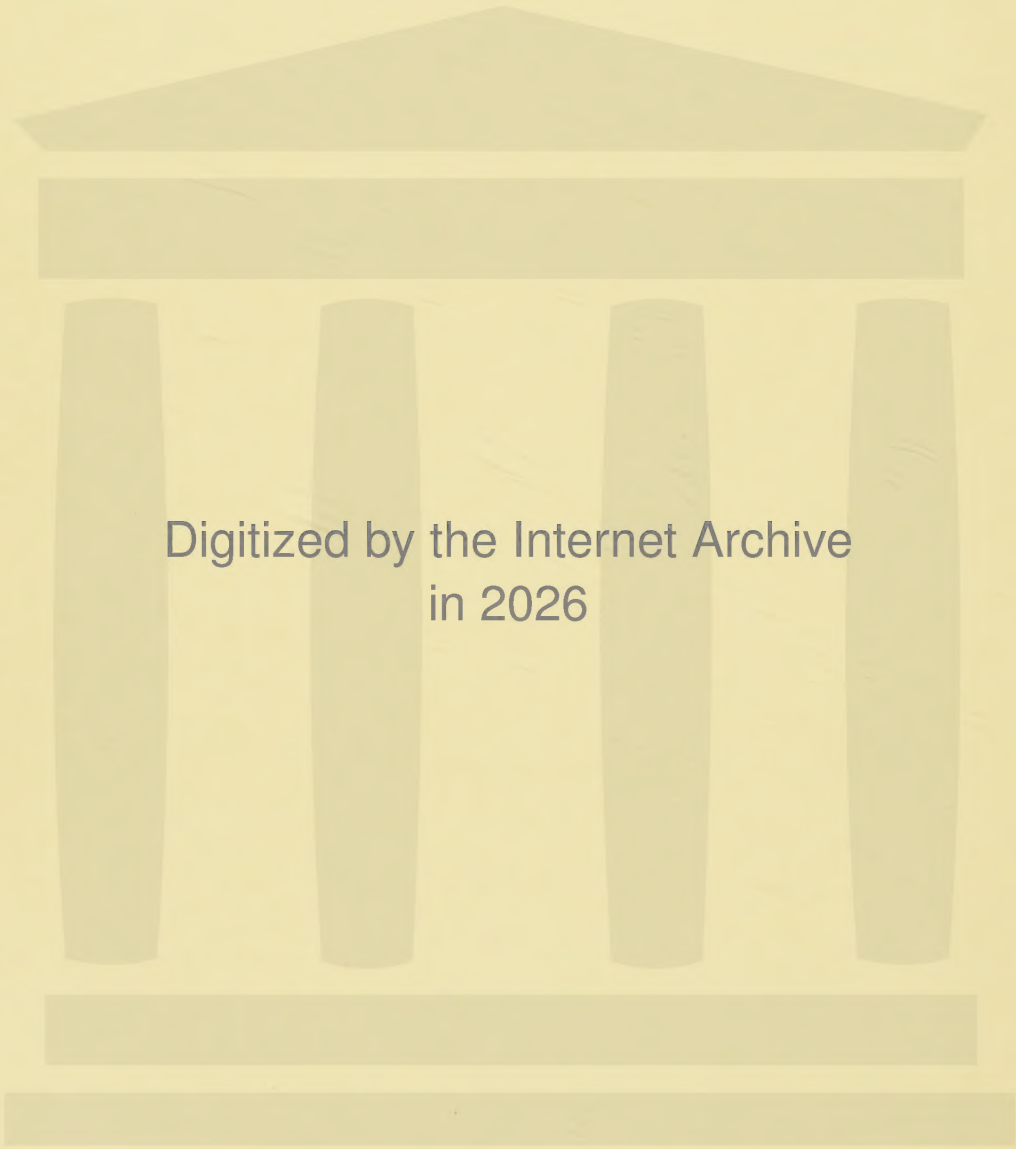
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THE DESCENDANTS OF HUGH AMORY

1605—1805

BY

GERTRUDE EUPHEMIA MEREDITH

LONDON

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1901

PREFACE.

THESE pages are printed for the family in fulfilment of what is known to have been a wish of the late Thomas Coffin Amory, who died at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1889. It had been for years a favourite recreation with Mr. Amory to glean information about his forefathers, and he was unwilling that their descendants generally should forget them. One of his nephews therefore proposed, and with others of the family has effected, the printing of his collections. They here stand condensed, with some later discoveries, as introduction and addenda to two series of eighteenth century letters. Of these the first series is from the Letter-Books of Thomas Amory, merchant, who after an apprenticeship in London and thirteen years in the Azores, settled in 1720 at Boston; the second, from the Letter-Books of his younger sons, Jonathan and John Amory, merchants also at Boston from forty to seventy years later. Both sets of books have remained in the possession of John's descendants, and these extracts from them are allowed by favour of the present owners, Mrs. Oswald H. Ernst and the

Miss Ernsts. The story is here brought down only to the generation following the American Revolution; Mr. Amory's papers had little of later date except in the line of his father, Jonathan Amory *tertius*. Mr. Dexter's excellent Pedigree will serve as outline for a farther history whenever some member of the family at Boston, with public and private records at hand, shall wish to write it.

In the present volume the Editor's thanks are due first to Mr. Frederic Amory, who originated the undertaking, and has waited over six years for its completion; again to him and to others of the family who charge themselves with the expense; to Mrs. Ernst and the Miss Ernsts for opportunity to read, and to make selections from, not only the Letter-Books, but account-books, single letters and other papers; to Mr. George Ticknor Dexter for the Pedigree already mentioned, which is folded within the last cover of the volume; to Mr. William Amory, by whose kind permission we have the portraits of Elizabeth Coffin and her son, the first Thomas Coffin Amory, facing pages 250 and 258; to Mr. Arthur Amory, by whose similar kind permission the two other portraits face page 69 and page 113; and to Miss Louisa Sohier, who kindly allowed the one at page 69 to be reproduced from a photograph which she had taken. All the four portraits are reproduced in photogravure from photographs of the pictures.

For kindness in allowing, and courtesy in facilitating, the search of records in their custody, acknowledgment must be made to the Master and the Treasurer of the Merchant Venturers' Society, Bristol; to the City Treasurer, Bristol; to Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of the College of Heralds; to

the Rector of Wrington, the Vicar of Brislington, and the Vicars of St. Nicholas, Bristol, and St. Clement's, Oxford. The Treasurer of the Merchant Venturers was so good as to revise the notes from his Company's record in Chapter II., and to suggest one or two amendments, which have been gratefully made. Pages 50, 126, 170, 180, 191, 214, and 234 report some of the comments of an Oxford Lecturer in Modern History and Economics, who kindly allowed the selections from the Letter-Books to be read to him, and said that he considered them a real addition to the history of the American Revolution. The reports cannot claim such accuracy as to deserve quotation marks, but they are easily distinguished from the rest of the page. A second Oxford historian, at the request of the first, generously granted an interview for seventeenth-century questions.

The List of Authorities beginning at page 319 is intended to show the ground for every fact of family history stated in the book, and also to point out where the documents forming such ground are preserved. Every document or authority referred to has come under the Editor's own examination: when the document seen has been not an original but a copy, that fact is noted in the list. The initial "E." means that the document or copy referred to is in Miss Ernst's possession at Washington or West Point; the initials "T. C. A." mean that it belongs to Mr. Amory's collection which he left to the care of three of his nephews at Boston, Mr. Charles Bean Amory, Mr. Arthur Amory, and Mr. J. Morris Meredith.

It would be useless to discuss every error great or small in regard to Hugh Amory's descendants which may have crept into books where any of them chance to be men-

tioned, but on no point does the silence of this present work imply assent. The Editor, believing that what is between these covers is true, answers for nothing else. Here too, no doubt, unhappily, errors will discover themselves when the time for revision is past. The Editor—who will most regret them—is alone responsible for any such, as also for all details of the book's production. Until it arrives in Boston, printed and bound, no other member of the family will have seen any part of it, except the List of Portraits (page 347) made by Mr. Amory over thirty years ago. This has been sent to as many as possible of the present owners for revision and enlargement, but remains incomplete. In it the four pictures reproduced in the book are indicated by asterisks.

For Chapters XVI. and XVII. few references are given. What is there said is (unless otherwise noted) drawn from Mr. Turner's and Mr. Somerby's reports to Mr. Amory, from Dugdale's " Baronage," Kennett's " Parochial Antiquities," or Dunkin's " Oxfordshire." Those whom the subject of the Oxfordshire D'Amorys, as a by-way of history, attracts, will look forward to a chance of learning more of it from the new set of County Histories said to be preparing under Royal patronage.

G. E. M.

Folkestone,
January 18th, 1901.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

		PAGE
	PREFACE	v
	TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
	ILLUSTRATIONS	x
	PREFATORY PEDIGREE	xi
CHAP.		
I.	WRINGTON, 1605-1719	1
II.	BRISTOL, 1624-1660	10
III.	IRELAND, 1660-1695	23
IV.	CAROLINA, 1690-1707	30
V.	BUNRATTY, 1677-1728	42
VI.	THE AZORES, 1706-1718	47
VII.	SOUTH CAROLINA, 1718-1723	64
VIII.	BOSTON, 1720-1743	87
IX.	BOSTON, 1743-1765	109
X.	LETTER-BOOKS, 1765-1768	124
XI.	LETTER-BOOKS, 1768-1773	147
XII.	LETTER-BOOKS, 1773-1776	175
XIII.	LETTER-BOOKS, 1776-1781	208
XIV.	LETTER-BOOKS, 1781-1786	227
XV.	FAMILY LETTERS, 1785-1805	248
XVI.	OF HERALDRY	263
XVII.	OF OTHER AMORY FAMILIES	284

PAGE

A List of Authorities 319
Notes 334
A List of Portraits 347
Index 350
A Pedigree, The Amory Family of Boston, 1720-1897. By George Ticknor Dexter. . . . . *at end*

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

Wrington Church . . . . . *Frontispiece*
Thomas Amory, 1682-1728 . . . . . *to face page* 69
Thomas Amory, 1722-1784 . . . . . „ „ 113
Mrs. Thomas Amory (Elizabeth Coffin), 1741-1822 „ „ 250
Thomas Coffin Amory, 1767-1812 . . . . . „ „ 258
Seal on Jonathan Amory's Will, 1699. 273

A PREFATORY PEDIGREE.

NOTE.—There were descendants of the Plenty, Chappell, Hoskins, and Coynes marriages, but as few names and no dates are known for them, they are here omitted.

- **Hugh Amory**, —1626, m. Agnes Young, widow, —1640, daughter of Nicholas and Joane Young.
  - Hugh Amory,— 1605.
  - John Amory, 1606-7–1681-2. m. 1626-7 Mary Willett, —1674-5.
    - Mary Amory, 1627–1681-2. m. 1651 Jonathan Wall.
      - John Wall, 1653—.
    - John Amory, 1629–1719. m. Elizabeth Talbot —1682.
      - John Amory, 1654—.
      - Robert Amory, 1655–1656.
      - Hugh Amory, 1657—.
      - Mary Amory, 1659—. m. 1689 Samuel Andrews.
      - Robert Amory, 1661—.
      - William Amory, 1664—.
    - Elizabeth Amory, 1633–1650.
    - Annis Amory, 1635. m. 1659 John Plenty.
    - Mathew Amory, 1639–1681-2.
    - Sara Amory, 1642—.
  - **Thomas Amory**, 1608–1667. m. 1631 Anne Elliott, 1613—.
    - Thomas Amory, —1667. m. Elizabeth Fitzmaurice. —1713.
      - Thomas Amory, —1728. m. 1, 1703, Katharine, widow of Simon Luttrell. m. 2, 1717, Elizabeth Durroy.
      - Elizabeth Amory, ——. m. 1, — Hart. m. 2, — Croker.
      - Lucy Amory, ——. d. unm.
    - Hugh Amory, 1639–1661. unm.
    - Elizabeth Amory, —1651. unm.
    - John Amory, 1644–1730. unm.
    - Ann Amory, 1645-6—. m. — Chappell.
    - Robert Amory, 1647-8–1710. unm.
    - Mary Amory, 1649—. m. William Hoskins.
    - Henry Amory, 1652—. unm.
    - Elizabeth Amory. m. Thomas Coynes or Connies.
    - **Jonathan Amory**, 1653-4–1699. m. 1, 1677, Rebecca ——, widow of David Houston.
      - Judith Amory, 1680—. m. Joseph Croskeys. s. p.
      - **Thomas Amory**, 1682–1728. m. 1721 Rebecca Holmes, 1701–1770.
    - m. 2, Martha ——, —1699.
      - Sarah Amory, —1722. m. 1706 Arthur Middleton.
      - Robert Amory, —1699.
      - Ann Amory, —1699.

THE small numbers in the text refer to a list which will be found at page 319, showing on what authority each statement in the narrative is made, and where these authorities are to be found. The Roman numbers I—LIII indicate letters from the first set of Letter-Books; LIV—CLXXXV letters from the second set.

THE
DESCENDANTS OF HUGH AMORY.

CHAPTER I.

WRINGTON, 1605-1719.

HUGH AMORY, whose birthplace and parentage we do not know, was living[1] in the year 1605 at Wrington in Somersetshire, under the northern side of the Mendip Hills. In the enterprise of cloth manufacture, which had within fifty years transformed England's industry and commerce, Somerset and Devon were the leading counties. Wrington, as a market town in the midst of the wool district, eleven miles from Bristol the great port of the west, must have been a centre for collecting the wool, and probably for weaving it. It is not unlikely that Hugh, one of whose sons was a mercer and the other apprenticed to a woollen-draper, had himself something to do with cloth. Mr. Somerby[205] made a note, which I am unable to verify, of a record in the Rolls Office, that Hugh was assessed[2] to the Benevolence of 1622 on land, but also on "goods," which always meant merchandise, stock in trade. He is taxed

on land in two rolls for the subsidy of 1621,[3] and he is elsewhere called "yeoman,"[4] which implies a freehold. In the first of the two rolls the annual value of his land is five pounds, in the second it is four. The tax is twenty per cent. There are seventy-two taxable inhabitants of Wrington, with its hamlet Burrington (*pron.* Berrington); seventy-one of these pay on land, Mr. Capel, the lord of the manor, and one other person on eight pounds annual value, two others on five pounds, Hugh and six others on four pounds, sixty persons on less. Mr. Somerby's note gives no figures, only "Hugh Amory on goods and on land at Burrington." This may be joined with his other note, also unverified, that he discovered "a Robert Amory at Burrington[5] in the beginning of the seventeenth century." Burrington had registers of its own, but they are lost; those at Wrington contain our earliest records. Among the burials:

"1605. Julie 22. Hughe, the sonne of Hughe Amrye."

Among the baptisms:

"1606-7. Feb. 27. John, the sonne of Hugh Amorye.
1608. June 5. Thomas y^e^ sonne of Hugh Amery."

Among the burials:

"1626. July 29. Hughe Amory."

He was probably buried, as some of his descendants afterwards were, within the parish church. It has no monuments of so early a date, and if the churchyard has, the inscriptions are no longer legible. To avoid exaggeration in regard to this church one may borrow Freeman's words ("History of Architecture," 1849, page 386). Speaking of the west as the

land of enriched Perpendicular towers and of "their culmination in the unrivalled glories of Somerset," he notes two classes of the larger and more splendid examples. Taunton best represents the one, but "still more grand and lovely are the other class, in which the whole tower rises from the ground in one harmonious design, the very triumph of Gothic architecture. Such are the three stately and magnificent steeples of St. John's, Glastonbury, St. Cuthbert's, Wells, and St. Mary's, Wrington, among which it would be difficult to assign a scale of precedency. . . . Wrington is unsurpassed for graceful beauty. No village tower which I know can be compared to it for a moment, and the nave and aisles are, so far as I have seen, only rivalled by Banwell."

In 1628 Agnes[6] (pronounced Agnis, sometimes apparently Annis, as her granddaughter's name is written) Amory pays at Wrington to a subsidy on one pound value of land, John Amory on two pounds. In the Chancery Proceedings, June 18th, 1632, is a "Petition of Agnes Amery[7] of Wrington, County of Somerset, daughter of Nicholas Younge, whose mother's name was Joane who lived in Loxton, county of Somerset, concerning two cottages and parcels of land, demised to the said Agnes by Christopher Paine, Esq., for her life, and afterwards sold by him with the manor to William Dale, gent." "Nichus Yonge, terr xxx^{s}—vj^{s}" appears in a Loxton subsidy roll[8] for 1597, and "Agnes Yong Vid.," in one for 1550." Agnes Amory's will[9] is in the District Registry at Wells:

"Wrington.

T. Anna Amorie Vīd.
Ann Amorie, Widow.

"In the Name of God. Amen. The 19th day of March 1638: I Agnes Amory of Wrington in the County of Somersett, Widdow, and in the Diases of Bathe and Wells doe ordaine and make this my last will and Testament in manner and form folowing (renouncing all other former Wills) being sicke of body but of good and perfect memory, thanks be unto Almighty God:

"ffirst I give and bequeath my soule unto Almighty God my Maker and to Jesus Christ my alone Saviour and redeemer by whose mercy I alone hope to be saved; and my body to be buried in the Church or Churchyard of Wrington aforesaid: Item I give unto Mr. Samuel Crooke rector and Minister of Wrington twenty shillings.

"Item I give unto my sonne John Amory—v^{li} to be paid unto him one yeares end after my decease.

"Item: I give to my daughter in Law Mary Amory my Sonne John his wife—xx^{s}: Item I give to my sonne Thomas Amory xx^{s}.

"And where as my sonne John Amory delivered to my sonne Thomas certaine parsells of goods by my appointment to be adventured to Sea for my Account which was valued at ix^{li} I doe likewise give all the said goods and the profitts thereof to my said sonne Thomas Amory. Item I give to my daughter in Law Ann Amory, my sonne Thomas his wife xx^{s}.

"Item I give unto my grandchild my sonne Thomas his sonne xx^{li} to be paid unto his ffather at one yeares end after my decease if my sonne Thomas shall state him in some living in the meane space, or else to give good security to myne Executor for discharging of him thereof of the said xx^{li}. Item I give unto my sonne John Amoryes foure children John

Amory, Mary Amory, Elizabeth Amory and Agnis Amory, five pounds a pece to every one of them: to be paid unto their ffather at the end of one yeare after my decease and he to give good security to myne Executor for his discharge thereof.

"Item: I give to my sonne Henry Backwell all the goods of what nature and kinde soever they are of which was myne alsoe before I married my last husband Hugh Amory; and which was my two former husbands': Item I give to my Grandchilde John Backwell the use of the ground which I have at Locking, being called Heale's Cloose together with some other peeces of ground lying thereto: for soe many yeares as my said Grandchilde John Backwell shall live during that lease; and if my said Grandchilde John Backwell shall happen to decease this life before the expiration of that lease then I will and my will is that my Grandchilde Henry Backwell shall enioy the said grounds for so many yeares as he shall live after my Grandchild John if that lease so long continue: and if my said Grandchildren John and Henry shall happen to dye before the expiration and end of that Lease and my Grandchild Dorothy Backwell shall be then living I give all the residue and remainder of the said Leases and grounds to my said Grandchild Dorothy Backwell. Item: I give to my Grandchild Henry Backwell xx^{li} Item I give to my Grandchild Hanna Backwell x^{li} Item I give to my Grandchild Dorothy Backwell x^{li} being sons and daughters of my said son Henry Backwell. Item I give unto the poore of Wrington 2^{li} to be distributed among them by myne Executor: Item I give to my Brother Robert Young v^{li}: Item I give to my Cozen Dorothy Plumley's sonne Richard xx^{s}: Item I give

among the rest of her children xx^{s} more: Item I give to my Cozen Dorothy Plumley herselfe xx^{s}. Item I give to my daughter in Law Joane Backwell my wedding ring: Item I give to William Baker the weaver x^{s} Item I give to Ehedeth Baker his wife x^{s} and an old Petecoate. Item all the rest of my goods and Chattells moveable or unmoveable not given or bequeathed I give to my sonne Henry Backwell whome I make my whole and Sole Executor of this my last will and Testament witnes my hand and seale the day and yeare aforesaid, and I doe entreate my Brother in Law John Luffe of Langford to be my overseer of this my last will and Testament and to se all right done as much as in him lieth

The marke and seale

+

of Agnis Amory.

Witnesse hereunto John Luffe
Georg Baker.

Probatum fuit hmod testamtn . . . apud Wells pro Coña niño

Henry Backwell 26$^{th.}$ Sept. 1640.

Et extum fuit Inventaria valoriis ~~ccc~~ . . . S.

In the burial register is the entry, "1640, August 27, Agnes Amory, widow;" and in the Churchwardens' Accounts, "The 13th day of May Ano dmi 1642 Henry Backwell, Executor to his Mother Agnes Amory did distribute amongst the poore of Wrington the sume of xl^{s} given by the said Agnes according to her will."

John Luffe was Agnes's "brother-in-law" only as being the father of Joan, her son Henry's wife. Descendants of Henry Backwell go on in the register until after 1800. He and his half-brother John Amory are constantly found in the parish books as churchwardens, vestrymen, etc. Sir Arthur Capel had in 1602 brought in a strong Puritan influence by presenting to the living the Rev. Samuel Crooke,[10] a learned young Cambridge graduate, one of the original Fellows of Emmanuel College. Mr. Crooke remained at Wrington until his death in 1649, "much admired and esteemed by his people," excelling in extempore prayer, and preaching ardently. One of the minor novelties introduced in his time was the building of pews[11] in the church. They were put in not all at once, but as a matter of individual enterprise, regulated by special enactments of the Vestry as one parishioner after another built for himself. "It is agreed by the minister, Churchwardens and the rest of the pishioners att the giving upp of their accompt the . . . May 1634 that John Benett and Henry Backwell shall hould the seates newly erected by them in the Church under the south window at theire owne cost and charges paying yeerely iiij^{d} a pec during theire lives. It is alsoe agreed that John Amory, William ffoord, William Macy and John Halestone for the fine of vj^{s} & viij^{d} a pec in hand paid to the Churchwardens above saide shall have theire seates joyning to the north Ile and alsoe to pay iij^{d} a pec yeerely during theire lives. that John Amory & Edmund ffoord for the yeerely rent of ij^{d} a pec to have the seates sett upp by them at ther owne charges in y^{e} midle Aley nere the north dore." Henry Backwell signs this as churchwarden, John Amory as one of the vestry.

In the civil wars there is no record of either brother as a soldier, although Henry is on the roll of the trained bands[12] a few years before. His colonel, Sir Ralph Hopton, was industrious in levying troops for the King, but Mr. Crooke was no less active in recruiting for the Parliament. In 1644 John Amory was accused[13] by a Wrington royalist as a rebel, being among those who would not sign the "pretended petition for peace." In 1648 the Parliamentary Commission reported him as a "fitting Elder"[14] for the Presbyteral "Classis of Bath and Wrington." "Hospitall money" is frequently paid to him in the churchwarden's books, as "Constable," an unsalaried office which no man could refuse when his neighbours elected him to it. After the Restoration two Somerset men suspected[15] of disaffection were examined in regard to letters written by them to Amory of Wrington. Hill pleaded that he was drunk at the time, Bovett professed that he "wrote to John Amory, a great cloth-dealer, only to get trade with him." John Amory, being questioned, admitted that he knew Hill, but held no correspondence with him nor with any other at Taunton. The authorities were not satisfied, and ordered the volunteers to be in readiness, but nothing followed, and John Amory continued until his death in 1680-1[16] to live at Wrington, paying as he had done since 1634 his annual sixpence or fourpence for seats in church and a shilling or two to the common rate, half of it on a property called "Brean's."[17] The rector's tithe-book[18] between 1676 and 1680 shows that Brean's comprised a house, orchard, garden, and hayfield. John Amory's son John paid tithe and pew-rent and was churchwarden like his father, and both are mentioned now and then in the parish accounts: "Paid John Amory for trav[ell]-

ing in the parish business; paid unto John Amory the elder [in 1657] for to psecute in the behalfe of the parrish against Burrington, and for Counsell at London i^{li}—x—o ; paid John Amory jun. for a ffox head j^{s} ; paid John Amory jun. for his horse and himself Ridinge to Wells to make returne to Major Jenkens of an order from Major General Desbrow in which the parrish was wrongfully accused for setting up a tennis Co^{rt} in the Churchyard ij^{s} vj^{d}." The younger John (whose only brother, Matthew, a scrivener,[19] seems to have died unmarried in 1681)[20] lived at Wrington all his life and died there in 1719[21] at the age of ninety. He married Elizabeth Talbot[22] of Ilminster, and left, beside a daughter, Mary, who married in the parish, four sons,[23] John, Hugh, Robert, and William, who at the time of his death were between the ages of twenty-eight and eighteen. The register has no entry of marriage or death for any of the four. After 1719 the family is not named in the parish books, and here we lose sight of the line of Hugh's eldest son.

CHAPTER II.

BRISTOL, 1624-1660.

OUR own descent is from the younger son, whose career was the troubled one of a Bristol merchant in the middle third of the seventeenth century. He is entered in the Prentice Book at the age of sixteen.[24]

"1624. Secundo die Septembr. Thomas Amory, fil Hugon Amory de Wrington in Com. Somset. yeoman, post se apprentir Robto Elliott de Civite Bristoll drap. et Anne ux. suis p. term seto ann. Sol. iiij^{s} vj^{d} p. lib^{te} Bristoll. cu dupl. appar. etc. et 40/ ster. A bond of C^{li} on his father for his truth."

Robert Elliott, no doubt the same, was, in 1633, first Sheriff of Bristol.[25] In four other years he was Churchwarden[26] of St. Nicholas; he had twelve children, and died five months before his wife, in 1643.[27] Their eldest daughter, Ann, was married to Thomas Amory six months after he had served his time. In the Burgess-Book:[28] "15th Daye of March A. 1630 [1630-1] Thomas Amory wollendraper ys admitted into the liberties of this Citty for that he was the apprentice of Robart Elliott, and that he paid iiii^{s} vj^{d}."

[Beside the Robert Elliott from whom we descend, and the Robert Elliott who was sheriff in 1633, the Bristol Prentice Book shows a Robert Elliatt, son of Henry Elliatt, late of Bristol, defunct, who is apprenticed to Thomas Whyte, draper, on the 26th of January, 1600-1, for a term of twenty years. In the Burgess-Book on the 17th of September, 1624, fifteen days after Thomas Amory was bound, a Robert Elliott is admitted a freeman, "for that he married with Ann the daughter of Roger Longe, draper." To have an apprentice before taking up one's own freedom was against the rules but not impossible, for another entry in the Prentice Book has a note to the master's name, "This man is not free." If it was our Robert Elliott who married Ann Longe, he took up his freedom at least twelve years after his marriage; but this might be explained by identifying him also with the son of Henry Elliatt, who being apprenticed for the strangely long term of twenty years, would have served his time only in 1621. Whether during so long a term an apprentice would be allowed to marry, I do not know. Our Robert Elliott's wife was Ann, and one of his sons was Henry.]

In St. Nicholas' register:[29] "Weddings Año Domini 1631 . . . Thomas Amory and Ann Elliott were mar̃ied the 7th of Novẽber." "Richard Towgood, Vicar," signs the page.

When Thomas and Ann take their first apprentice, a young brother of Ann's, the Prentice Book says, "Thomas Amory, Draper," but by the next time he is "Merchant." He was admitted to the "Comonaltie of the Arte or Misterie of the Marchantes Adventurers[30] of the citty of Bristol" in 1638, when the King was trying to have a revenue without having a parliament, and royal commissioners "examined merchants

on oath as to what commodities they had shipped, what entries were made at the Custom Houses, what foreign goods imported, for years past." Thomas Amory engaged in foreign trade, and if he was like most merchants of the time, must have owned ships—armed, for fear of pirates—and directed their voyages if he did not sail in them.

When the Civil War began, in 1642, Bristol shut her gates equally against Sir John Popham for the Parliament and Lord Paulet for the King, and appeared to intend a vigorous resistance to the Parliament siege in December. Nevertheless, at the moment of the first attack the Magistrates decided to admit the besiegers, who, on entering, put the town under martial law. Beside being at once taxed for the support of the Parliament forces £55 15*s.* a week (assessed on lands, goods, money at interest and stocks in trade), it gave to Colonel Fiennes £300, and the citizens were compelled to make loans to him of money and plate. In a list of loans ranging from £20 to £300, and amounting to nearly £4,000, the sum against Thomas Amory's name[31] is £91 5*s.* 0*d.* Fiennes surrendered the city to Prince Rupert, July 6, 1643, and the King, coming to visit it, commanded the citizens to raise £20,000 "for the relief of his pressing emergencies." In November, Thomas Amory is one of the names signed to the minutes of a Merchant Venturers' meeting; at later meetings he is marked as present; the next year he is elected one of the ten Assistants.[32] He is a sidesman [33] at St. Nicholas, and takes another apprentice. Towards the end of August, 1645, the whole of the west was lost to the King, and the Parliament army, reinforced by 2,000 Somersetshire men, closed in round Bristol. On one of the days when Fairfax

and Cromwell were reconnoitring the city, Thomas Amory was elected to the Common Council.[34] As a rule the City Corporation was the Merchant Venturers under another name, and nearly the same is true of the parish officers of St. Nicholas. Elections to the Common Council were for life. At its meeting on September 5th, "It is this day agreed that the cittie shall accept of the proffer of his highnes Prince Rupert touching the taking of the free quarter both of horse and foote from the inhabitants." Five days later, September 11th, Prince Rupert surrendered and marched out. In his vindication[35] the Prince stated that "his effective garrison were hardly six hundred men and that the auxiliary and trained bands by reason of the interruption of trade, poverty, and the pestilence that raged in the city, were reduced to eight hundred, and the mariners betook themselves to other parts or to the enemy. . . . Having given orders for all the inhabitants to victual themselves for six months; upon a strict survey of 2,500 families then remaining in the city, 1,500 through indigence could not provide for themselves."

For the year from November, 1645, Thomas Amory was one of the two Wardens[36] of the Merchants' Society, and in April was on a Committee of four to taste and purchase wines for them—"a parcell of Sacke, a parcell of Muskadelle, and a parcell of Malliga wines." The next year he was once more an Assistant, and he and about a dozen others were made feoffees of all the lands, messuages, tenements and hereditaments of the Company; while he and five others were chosen auditors of the accounts. In 1647 he signs the minutes of the meeting on November 10th. In 1648 he is again on a committee to buy wines. In April he is mentioned among the

creditors of a Bristol merchant,[37] a royalist who was being made to compound.

From another royalist, Sir John Lacy, he had taken in 1646 a lease[38] of a "Tenement, Mill and Lands"—about twenty acres—in the manor of Brislington, a mile or two from Bristol towards Bath. He built a house there, called St. Ann's, from an ancient Chapel which stood near it. In 1649 he added "Parphey's holding,"[39] sixty-four acres in the same manor, and the next year took another called Cottrell's.[40] This last lease was not to be in force during the life of Cottrell's daughter and her husband; after that it was to run ninety-nine years if the lessee's son Robert Amory should live so long. A chancery suit regarding this lease was carried on for twenty years by Robert's eldest nephew, and from the depositions made therein we learn that Thomas had ten children, viz.: Thomas, mentioned in 1639 in his grandmother's will; Elizabeth, who died young and is named in the St. Nicholas burial register, August 12th, 1651; and a younger Elizabeth whose marriage in Ireland by 1667[42] implies that she was born soon after her sister's death; beside the two daughters and five sons[43] baptized at St. Nicholas as follows:

"1639. Heugh the sonne of Thomas Amory and An his wife was baptized the 20th daye of June.

"1644, March 30. John the sonn of Thomas Amry & Ann his wife . . .

"$164\frac{5}{6}$ Jan. 23. Ann, the daughter of Mr Thomas Amory & Ann his wife . . .

"$164\frac{7}{8}$ Jan. 20. Robert, the sonn of Mr Thomas Amari by Ann his wife was baptized, his father being Churchwarden.

"1649. Sept. 16. Mary the daughter of Mr. Thomas Amary by Ann his wiff was baptized. But borne the eight Day of the same month of September Anno Dmi. 1649.

"1652. July 4th Henry the sonn of Mr Thomas Amary by Ann was borne & Baptized the 27th of the sam month.

"1654 Apriell ii Jonathan the sonn of Mr Thomas Amorie by Ann his wife was baptized the same day but boren ye 14th of March."

This last is our ancestor.

The third son, John, deposed[44] in 1704 that his brother "Robert Amory was borne on the Back of Bristole in the parrish of St Nicholas," and Robert himself "knows not in what year he this examinant was borne but was often told that he was borne about a year after the burning of the bridge of Bristole," "a lamentable fire," the Mayor's Calendar notes, on the 17th of February, 1645-6, "which burnt all the houses on the north part of the bridge from the chappell, on both sides to St Nicholas' Gate." The Back or quay (now called Welsh Back) facing this bridge, was favoured by merchants, who, living there, could have their ships come up the Floating Harbour opposite their door, although by a regulation of the year 1654, "no ship of above one hundred tons was allowed to come up to the Quay or Back under the penalty of ten pounds." Some of the finest seventeenth century houses in the town were built here, but have almost entirely vanished.

The Common Council after Fairfax's entry offered "a gratuity to the Generall, to be raised on the inhabitants," of five or six thousand pounds. For the year 1652-3 Thomas Amory was first sheriff,[45] one of the duties of the sheriffs being

to hold their court daily at the Tolzey "to hear complaints between parties." At the Tolzey also took place an important part of mercantile transactions, the counting out of large sums of money in coin. There were four small fixed bronze tables for this, called the "Tolzey nails," whence the expression "paid down on the nail." They stand now for ornament outside the Exchange and are in shape less like nails than like thick old sherry-glasses upside down. Three of them have dates from 1625 to 1632; the fourth is older. Thomas Amory is in the St. Nicholas accounts as sidesman in 1644; in 1646 junior, in 1647 senior, churchwarden; in 1648 overseer. In 1643, while Fiennes was holding Bristol, Mr. Towgood[46] joined in a plot to admit Prince Rupert, and, failing, spent several months in prison, was released when Fiennes surrendered, but after Fairfax's entry was formally sequestered and imprisoned again. A Presbyterian, appointed Vicar of St. Nicholas[47] by Parliament, and unable to bring himself to acquiesce in the Parliament's submission to a new tyrant (the un-Presbyterian army) was removed and forbidden to reappear in Bristol. His successor,[48] another Presbyterian, being an old friend of Cromwell's secretary Thurloe, held the position—though he wrote vigorously of the Army and the Quakers—until the Restoration quietly extinguished him, and at the request of the parish Mr. Towgood came back. One change after another is reflected indifferently in the records. The ringers are paid "when the Erle of Essex was overthrown in the west;" they are paid again "for ringing at the Generall [Fairfax]'s cominge in." Mr. Towgood receives the regular £3 "pr. midsomer quarter" in 1645, and in 1646 someone "pd Mr Jessop at his first cominge, with consent of the vestry

v^{li}. More paid for his housement with consent of Mr Amory £36 7^{s} 6^{d}."

The "Accompt of Monyes paid Disburst and Distributed by me, Thomas Amory, Churchwarden" has no items of special interest. There are allowances to the poor, such as "Y^{e} widdow Stoakes when she was sent into Ireland iij^{li} j^{s} vj^{d}," or "a distressed minister v^{s}," and "a minister's wife out of Ireland;" and there is, as in other years, the pleasing touch of loyalty to "great Elizabeth" fifty years after her death: "Pd. y^{e} ringers y^{e} ould Queenes Day iij^{s} iiij^{d}." The churchwarden in 1655, William Elliott (presumably Anne Elliott Amory's eldest brother) writes, "I paid for saying mass at a house in Ballan Street," and the next year Thomas Stephens has the same expression: "for a preest to cellabrate a mass." The use of the Book of Common Prayer had been prohibited by Parliament in 1647 under fine and imprisonment for the first offence, the Act of 1645 having fixed the penalty for such use, even in private, at a year's imprisonment for the third offence.

Another Chancery suit shows, from the books of John Bowen at Bordeaux, an "Accompt currant of Mr Thomas Amory[49] of Bristoll, Merchant," for three years from 1646, with a total of £18,632 4*s*. 8*d*. for wine, wheat, prunes, bacon, and tabys. All else that we know of his business is that he had "Colour-works,"[50] and that he had generally two apprentices. The last lad bound to him in the Prentice Book is (February 10th, 1652-3): "John Culpeper, sonne of John Culpeper of Hollingbourne in the County of Kent, gent. . . . a bond of 500^{li} from Sir Thomas Cullpep for service and truth." I infer from particulars of the Culpepper family (Hasted's "Kent"; "Dictionary of National Biography,")

that this apprentice was a son of the proscribed royalist Sir John afterwards Lord Colepeper; and that on his elder brother's death he succeeded to the title: but he was not otherwise distinguished.

Worse, probably, from the financial point of view, than any evils of despotism or war, was the strain imposed by Cromwell's taxation. With an army to support and pay whose numbers amounted to one hundredth of the whole population, the Protector's government required nearly four times as great a revenue as had been grudged to the King, and had an impoverished country from which to draw it. "Pauperism," says a modern writer,[51] "increased to such a frightful extent that it was computed by competent authority that at the time when Charles II. ascended the throne there were no fewer than ten thousand persons [*i.e.*, about one in six hundred of the population] suffering imprisonment for debt, and that a much greater number were in hiding or living in perpetual fear of the sheriffs' officers."

Thomas Amory, as early as 1650, assigned,[52] perhaps as security for debt, the lease of St. Ann's House, though he continued to have it for his country house, and to carry on the colour-works. About six years later he assigned the lease of Parphey's holding. By this time his eldest son was grown up. This son, Thomas—whom it will be best to distinguish at once as Thomas of Galy, the place where he afterwards lived—is not (nor is his brother Hugh) in the Bristol books as apprentice, burgess, or Merchant Venturer, although he[53] (like Hugh[54]) is elsewhere called "Merchant." Perhaps both were apprenticed in London and made Merchant Adventurers there —"Merchants of the Staple," as the old name was. Thomas

seems to have been in a position to help his father early in 1657, for the St. Ann's lease was then made over to him, and the next year he bought that property, Parphey's, and four or five other holdings in the neighbourhood, amounting to about two hundred acres, and received leases and surrenders from his father[55] and all the assignees.

In the autumn of 1658 Mr. Thomas Amory was a candidate, without success, in the election by the Corporation from among its members of a new keeper of the Backhall.[56] The Backhall was a public warehouse and market, whose keeper or master paid £40 a year to the city out of his "profitts and emoluments."

In February, 1659-60, "the apprentices of Bristoll[57] assembled and cried up for a Free Parliament, keeping the city a week"; the remnant of the Long Parliament was in session under the Army's direction, and began to be spoken of openly as "those Usurpers." Presently the sovereign Army was deposed by its own leader, and on the 25th of May King Charles landed at Dover. Two or three times during the summer Thomas Amory is at meetings of the Common Council, and in September, to a list in the Minutes including his name, there is this note :

"These Thirtie and three whose names are on this side did y^e^ 14^th^ day of September 1660 abovesd take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacie[58] before us

"Edward Tyson May^r^
"Walter Sandy."

A mark against his name in the list of members summoned to a meeting, November 6th, 1660, seems to mean that he was

present ; his name is still there in the March following, but with no mark. Nor is he present at the Merchants' meeting in November, 1661, the last to which he is summoned. It was a question before the Court of Chancery twenty years later whether he remained in Bristol until May, 1662. The point itself has less interest for us than some of the evidence bearing upon it.[59] At a hearing at Bristol in 1689 the first deponent is "Thomas Hart *als* Blacker of Briselton [*i.e.*, Brislington] gentleman, aged 71 years or thereabouts . . . did well know Thomas Amory the elder formerly of the citty of Bristol, Merchant, since deceased, to whom he this deponent was for many years a Servant as Clarke or Agent for him in certain Colorworkes which he the said Thomas Amory formerly had . . . He did see the said Thomas Amory the elder before he went first to Ireland att his own countrey house at Briselton aforesaid signe, seale and deliver the Indenture. . . . And thereupon this deponent and George Bonvile who was alsoe present did subscribe their names as witnesses, as did likewise Love Warren . . . subscribe her mark."

"Love Warren of the citty of Bristol, widow, aged 60 years and upwards . . . did heretofore well know Thomas Amory the elder, deceased, grandfather of the said Complainant, having lived several years with him as his household servant. She did see the Indenture sealed and delivered att his countrey house in Busselton [*i.e.* Brislington] . . . before his removall to Ireland, and she and Thomas Hart and George Bonvile witnessed it, who were all at that time servants to the said Thomas Amory." Hart, deposing again (this time on the Complainant's side) "knows Thomas Amory did remove into Ireland, but doth not remember in what year." Love Warren, likewise, "de-

poseth that to the best of her remembrance he removed with his family into Ireland about the time that our late Soveraigne Lord King Charles the Second returned to his kingdome of England; which the deponent doth the better remember because after such the said Thomas Amoryes removall . . . she . . . did fetch flowers from Busselton to Bristol against the saide kinges coronaçon"—which took place April 23rd 1661. "George White, woollendraper, late one of the Sheriffs of the Citty of Bristoll, aged 50 years and upwards, deposeth . . . did know Thomas Amory the elder, formerly of St. Anne's . . . and Thomas Amory his sonne. To the best of his remembrance the said Thomas Amory the elder removed with his family from Bristoll to Ireland before 1662, which this deponent doth the rather believe for that some time before the said Thomas Amory the elder did remove to Ireland as aforesaid he bought a quantity of cloth of this deponent's late father being then a woollendraper, for which neither this deponent nor his late father have been hitherto paid, but the same remaines still charged on theire bookes, which cloth this deponent believes the said Thomas Amory soe bought to cloathe his family withall."

At a hearing for the same case, in Galway, in 1704, Robert Amory deposes that he "often heard his father Thomas Amory . . . and Thomas Amory the father of the plaintiffs, talke of a lease perfected to the said Thomas Amory the Grandfather by Sir John Lacy, Knight and Rowland Lacy Esq. of the lands mentioned. . . . Believes the same was determinable on the death of this examinant . . . knows and is very sure that he this examinant is the Robert Amory whose life is mentioned in the said lease and well remembers that his father the said

Thomas Amory told him soe, and was with him in the orchard next the said messuage . . . knows not which of the Lacys it was that he saw, but remembers to have seen one of that name att his father's house att St. Ann's near Bristole before he left England which was in the year 1660." Mary Hoskyns *als* Amory " has often heard her mother Anne Amory *alias* Elliott say that there was a lease of the house or messuage granted to Thomas Amory . . . for the life of Robert Amory son of the said Thomas Amory . . . knows that Thomas Amory . . . had issue beside the said Robert, by his wife Anne Elliott and by no other wife as followeth: Thomas, Hugh, John, Henry, Jonathan, Anne Amory now Chappell, Mary Amory now Hoskyns, Elizabeth Amory now Coynes, and one other Elizabeth who died young. Knows that the said Thomas Amory of Bristole, Merchant, grandfather of the plaintiffs died at Dingle in Kerry but she cannot remember the year. Thomas Amory, father of the plaintiffs, died at Garryard, in the County of Kerry, . . . cannot remember the year but knows it was some months before the death of Thomas Amory the grandfather."

CHAPTER III.

Ireland, 1660-1695.

THOMAS of Galy married Elizabeth Fitzmaurice, one of the daughters of Patrick, 19th Baron Kerry of Lixnaw. Making his will at London, in 1660, Lord Kerry names six trustees [60] to settle his estate, two of whom are his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Leigh, son and heir of Lord Leigh of Stoneleigh, and Dean Boyle, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland. A third is "my son-in-law Thomas Amorie, Merchant." It was doubtless through this Irish and Royalist connection that Thomas obtained the appointment of Chief Commissioner of the Navy in Ireland. He mortgaged the Brislington property [61] for £1,000 in June 1660, entering with his wife into a "Recognizance or writing obligatory in the nature of a Statute Staple before the Mayor of the Staple of the Citty of London and the Recorder of the said citty;" and "within few months after . . . removed with his family into Ireland in order to attend and manage his Imployment of Victualler General of his . . . Majesty King Charles the Second's shipps in that kingdom." His house at Galy, Listowel, was about ten miles from Lixnaw in the County Kerry. He sat for

Ardfert in the Irish Parliament[62] from 1661 to 1666. In 1661 in the Dublin Prerogative Court, administration was granted to Thomas Amory on the goods, etc., of his brother, Hugh Amory,[63] deceased intestate, late of Lisbon, in Portugal, merchant." In 1663 Queen Catherine[64] wrote to the Duke of Ormond: "I am informed that Mr. Thomas Amory is a very honest Gentleman and one very well affected to the service of the King my dearest Lord and Husband; he is very likely to have need of your protection and my desire to you is that upon this my recommendacon you will show him all the favor his businesse is capable of. I am assured his pretensions are just and that he will deserve your countenance." In 1666 Thomas Amory, Esq., had "a grant of Ballyboneene,[65] etc., in Co. Kerry, 2953a. 2. 21, as Plan Meas." A few days before the date of the grant he wrote to the Duke of Ormond's secretary, to suggest putting fire-ships[66] in Kinsale and other harbours as a preparation against the rumoured invasion by the French. "The maner of doing it I have desired my agent Capt. Crispin to specify in the inclosed paper. . . . I am now going for Kerry where I have not beene 11 dayes these 17 months, and shall post thence if any com^{ds} follow mee." Early in the next summer he died. After arranging his son's inheritance, with provision for his wife and two daughters, his will,[67] made in August, 1666, gives one-sixth of the personal estate to be divided among his brothers and sisters. A codicil in May, 1667, adds £100 to Robert's share, giving "my stocke of sheepe . . . for the maintenance of my father, mother, sister Mary and sister Ann and brothers Henry and Jonathan . . . and £20 to my Unkle Robert Ellyott" (who seems to have become an unsuccessful planter in Antigua).[68] Another

item of the will is: "In case my sonne Thomas dye without Issue male or that I shall have no other sonne by my wife then my will is that all my right, title, Interest & Estate in ffee shall come and bee to the only use and behoofe of my two eldest brothers, John, Robert, Henry or Jonathan as they shall bee then living and theire heires to bee equally divided betwixt them, subject nevertheless to the raising of one thousand pounds ster. as portions for . . . each of my said daughters," etc.

The first Thomas Amory's widow, Ann Elliott, and her son Henry, died before 1704.[69] John and Robert settled as merchants at Galway,[70] and were members of the Common Council, John being second sheriff in 1678 and 1679, and afterwards an alderman. Their three sisters married Galway merchants.

Our ancestor, Jonathan, the youngest of the family, became a merchant at Dublin, where he is recorded in 1675 as the nominal purchaser[71] from the city of the north strand of the Liffey. Maps of Dublin as late as 1728 mark a part of it as "Amory's Ground," and in 1816 £2 10*s.* annual rent for it from "Jonathan Armory" still formed an item of the city's income, which, I need hardly say, neither Jonathan nor his heirs continued to pay. The real purchaser was one of the sheriffs, Humphrey Jervis, a merchant to whom Jonathan was perhaps apprenticed. Jervis had the aid and sanction of the then Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Essex (Capel of Wrington), in a scheme for reclaiming the strip of land shown at low tide on the north side of the river, and making streets there. Dublin, hitherto, had lain wholly on the south side.

In 1676 Jervis and Dr. Glendy, prebendary of St. Michael's,

were two of the three overseers named in the will of "David Houston[72] of Lazyhill neere the city of Dublin, marriner," to aid Houston's widow as executrix, and to take the guardianship of the children, "if she happen to marrie again." The property consisted of shares in ships—the "Rebecca," the "Little Katherine," the "Great Katherine," etc., etc.,—also of stock in them, with profit and produce; goods in the Canaries, etc. One quarter of it was left to the testator's wife Rebecca, together with "my interest in my now dwelling-house with all my household goods, plate and other things thereto belonging." The rest was divided between the three children, David, Humphrey, and Ann Houston. In a volume of grants at the Dublin Record Office is a marriage licence:[73] "AMORY ET HOUSTON. Lĩa ad solemnizand mromn inter Jonathan Amory pōa Sn Michaelis Dublin mercator et Rebeccam Houston pōa Sn Andrea Dublin vĩd concess fuit et est p [word illegible] Michael Dublin Archepi 31° die Mens Maij Ano Dmi 1677° Direct Johni Glendy S.T.D. Prabend Prabendia St. Michaelis Dued et subsignat p. Johem Popham L. D. Rĩrār Gen̄lem Dcr Archiepi et sigillat cum sigillo Cur Consd. Dublin." [AMORY AND HOUSTON. Licence for the solemnization of matrimony between Jonathan Amory of the parish of St. Michael, Dublin, Merchant, and Rebecca Houston of the parish of St. Andrew, Dublin, widow, was and is granted by . . . Michael, Archbishop of Dublin, the 31st day of the month of May, A.D. 1677, to John Glendy, S.T.D., prebendary of the prebend of St. Michael's," etc.]

There is no indication of Rebecca's maiden name. A letter written fifty years later[74] to her son Thomas Amory by an Amory cousin speaks of "your mother's brother, Geo. Houston."

David Houston's will mentions no brothers, but gives small bequests to "my cozen George Houston, my cousins Elen Houston, and her daughter Jene Binker, Maran Houston, my sister-in-law Ellison Dawlin and to her daughter." It is not implied that there are relations anywhere but in Dublin.

Lazy (= Lazar's) Hill, lying between Trinity College and the river, was then outside the town, although attached to the Dublin parish of St. Andrew's. The Liffey, not yet narrowed and straightened, washed two sides of it, and in a storm at high tide had been known to come up over it to the College grounds. It is now as other crowded city districts which have wharves at one end and a railway-station at the other, with streets of age-blackened tenements and workshops between. In St. Andrew's registers,[75] searched from 1670 to 1690, are these two entries :

"1680. Baptized April 1. Judith D. of Jonathan e —— Almery.

"1682. Baptized May 12. Thomas, Son of Jonath: e Rebec: Almery."

The page is signed "Michael Hewetson, Presb."

Our ancestor who settled in Boston, left in his own handwriting a record[76] which begins : "I, Thomas Amory, son of Jonathan Amory and Rebeckah Amory, was born in Dublin in May, 1682, and was christened at Christ Church, my cousin Thos. Amory my Godfather." As to Christ Church I have doubts, for the absence of an entry in the registers of that church supports the evidence given by the register of St. Andrew's. Christ Church, moreover, was considered the Chapel Royal of Dublin, and in the seventeenth century no

one below the nobility, I am told, would have been likely to have a special service there.

For the next nine years of Jonathan's life we have no exact dates. In 1678 his brother Robert had left Galway [77] for the West Indies, and at some time later than May, 1682, Jonathan and Rebecca followed, taking with them the infants, Judith and Thomas, and Rebecca's daughter, Ann Houston. After arriving in the New World, Rebecca died. Mr. T. C. Amory believed that this was about 1685, and he states that a friend of his had "seen the record of her interment on the register of one of the Churches in Barbadoes." [78] Whether Jonathan had intended to settle at Barbadoes or was there only on his way to another colony; whether he remained in the island until after his second marriage; in what year this took place, and to what family his second wife belonged are unanswered questions. We know that Rebecca's son Thomas is said (by his widow forty years later [79]) to have lost his mother while too young to remember her; we know that the second wife's Christian name was Martha; and we know that Jonathan's daughter Sarah, who seems to have been Martha's, can hardly have been born later than 1690, since she married in 1706. In McCrady's "History of Carolina" (vol. i. p. 327 n.) it is said that Jonathan Amory came to that colony from Jamaica. A letter from the Lords Proprietors [80] to a Governor, in November, 1691, mentions Jonathan Emery without further definition, as if he were a known inhabitant of Charleston, and we know that within the next three years Amory's son Thomas was a school-fellow of Arthur Middleton's in Carolina. Before December, 1694, Thomas, now twelve years old, and Ann Houston, about eighteen, were sent, under the care of Mrs. Quarry, to England,

where the boy lived for several years with his godfather, in London, Ann returning to Dublin. In the Dublin Grants,[81] December 18th, 1694, licence is given to the Rev. John Travers to marry James Ramsay of St. Andrew's to Ann Houston of the same parish, spinster; August 14th, 1695, administration on the goods of Humphrey Houston, late of Lazyhill, near the city of Dublin, mariner, "sed in partibus transmarinis decedentis," is granted to "Jacopo Ramsay de Lazyhill, Pistori, et Anne Ramsay *als* Houston" his wife, sister to the said deceased; and September 2nd, 1695, administration on the goods of Rebecca Amory, otherwise Houston, late of Lazyhill, but since deceased in the island of Barbadoes, is granted to James Ramsay, of Lazyhill, and Ann Ramsay, otherwise Houston, daughter of the said deceased.

CHAPTER IV.

Carolina, 1690-1707.

IN those days the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, a Chartered Company of eight men resident in London, were attempting to govern their distant province on a feudal system devised by the philosopher, John Locke (who, by the way, was born at Wrington). They were also trying to suppress in their dominion illegal trading and the encouragement of pirates, two failings to which all the ports of the American coast were frankly addicted. The pirates were not yet such outlaws as they became in the next generation, but rather "private warriors," sometimes having letters of marque against the Spaniards from one or other of the Colonial Governors. The Governor's action would be justified on the ground that pirates helped the poorer planters, by victualling their vessels from them, and employing them at high wages, as well as by selling prize goods cheap. Charleston, finding its rulers unsympathetic on these and other points, became so mutinous, that in 1690 Governor Colleton suppressed its popular assembly and proclaimed martial law. One of the Lords Proprietors, named Sothell,

happening just then to come that way, amused himself by taking the popular side, banishing the Governor, and protecting anarchy for a year before his colleagues in London heard of it. Hearing, they at once sent orders for him to be deposed and his acts annulled, and that Colonel Ludwell should be Governor, their instructions to whom[82] (November 8th, 1691) contain the following passage: "You are to make strict inquiry upon oath if Mr. Sothell did grant any comission to Pyrates for rewards or otherwise w^ch^ Jonathan Emery knows as wee are informed who had twenty guineas for procuring a Comission from s^d^ Sothell; and if you shall find any such Comission was granted by him in our names, you are to enter our dissent to it on record." In 1692, Jonathan Amory was returned as a member for Berkeley County to Governor Ludwell's first parliament, which requested an act of indemnity. The Governor bade them look to their journals and see what clemency could be expected: the request astonished him—"Mr Speaker, we must own we understand it not." Unabashed and pressing their demand, the Assembly prepared a statement of grievances and of their claims under the Provincial Constitution. Jonathan Amory, Speaker, signs this first American Bill of Rights.[83] It deals not only with the difficulties of the moment, but with the fundamental questions at issue between the proprietors and their colonists. Ludwell was obliged to allow the framing by a Committee of a new system of government, setting aside what the proprietors (though they yielded to the change) still thought "the excellent system of Locke." Their lordships soon recalled Ludwell, and Archdale, one of themselves, took his place for a time, arriving in August, 1695, when he "found all matters in great confusion and every fac-

tion apply'd themselves to me in hopes of relief. I appeased them with kind and gentle words and . . . call'd an Assembly," whose demands soon put too great a strain on his kindness and he dissolved them. Jonathan Amory the Speaker immediately presented a petition in behalf of himself and the people, praying for a new Assembly with more representatives, which Archdale granted, and several desired measures were passed. On Archdale's return to England, in 1696, he carried with him the following address :[84]

"The humble address and recognition of thanks by the Commons assembled in Charles town, to the right honourable the true and absolute lords proprietors and to the right honourable John Archdale, Esq., governor of Carolina.

"Right Honourable

"We, the representatives of the freemen of South Carolina, being profoundly sensible of your most gracious condescension, in commissioning and investing the right honourable John Archdale esq., Governor, with such large and ample powers for the encouragement of the inhabitants of this colony, do most humbly recognize and most sincerely thank your lordships for the same, and for the remission of some arrears of rents, the undeniable manifestation of your paternal care over us ; and we the Commons now assembled, no less sensible of the prudent, industrious and indefatigable management of the said powers by the said John Archdale, Esq., do in most humble manner acknowledge the same, and that we doubt not the fruits thereof will be the peace, welfare, and tranquillity, plenty, prosperity and safety of this colony and the

people therein. The acts of grace to which you have so seasonably condescended have removed all former doubts jealousies and discouragements of us the people and have laid a firm and sure foundation on which may be erected a most glorious superstructure to the honour of the lords proprietors and of our Governor, which we do and shall forever be most heartily obliged to attribute to the wisdom and discretion, patience and labour of the honourable John Archdale, Esq., our governor whom we the Commons request to return this our recognition of thanks to your lordships and so we shall ever humbly pray.

"JONATHAN AMORY, Speaker."

When in 1697 the Crown established Courts of Admiralty in the colonies, Jonathan Amory was made Advocate General in South Carolina under His Majesty's commission. He was also Public Treasurer by appointment of the Proprietary Government. The Proprietors' record of grants of land [85] has his name for the first time in May, 1694, and repeatedly in the next four years. There are two slightly differing lists, the first of which gives him a total of eleven town lots and 1,200 acres outside the town; by the second he has nine town lots and 5,860 acres outside, at a quit rent amounting to about twenty-five shillings a year. The price of land had been fixed by his Assembly under Archdale at £20 per 1,000 acres. At his death he owned some other town-lots and plantations not bought directly from the Proprietors, and had parted with some of those in the lists. By his will [86] dated November 23rd, 1697, —"I give and bequeath unto my Son Mr Joseph Croskeys all that Peice of land that lyeth next the Rat-trap w^ch^ was bought

of Andrew Lawson and lyeth on the left hand of the broad Path as you goe into the country. . . . I likewise request my Executrix to make a title to him of that Peice of land w^ch^ lyeth near to my dwelling house w^ch^ I gave to him with my Daughter. I also give him my best silver-headed Cane."

The daughter who had been married to Joseph Croskeys, and who had evidently died before her father made his will, must have been Judith, baptized at Dublin seventeen and a half years before this time. She is not mentioned again, and by March, 1700, Sarah Amory, "an infant," is named as "the only daughter living" of "Jonathan Amory late of Charles Town, Merchant." Joseph Croskeys, merchant, made his will December 2nd, 1700, when he had a wife Margaret and an only son John. Margaret survived him, and also survived her second husband, James Ingerson of Charles Town, merchant, who died in 1712. She was living in Jamaica as late as 1719, and is clearly not an Amory, for she receives no gift in Jonathan's will, is wholly ignored in his widow's, has no share in the guardianship of his orphaned children, and is never mentioned in any of his elder son's letters, written at all dates between 1706 and 1728. More than once in these letters Thomas counts over what relations he has living and what parts of the world they are in; he writes often to his mother's daughter Ann, calling her "dear Sister," and is equally affectionate and attentive to his father's daughter Sarah. It cannot be that the one sister whom we know to be daughter to both his father and his mother and close to himself in age, could have been living and yet forgotten by him. I insist on a point so obvious only because we have for so long had Margaret *provisionally* in the family lists that there is danger of her becoming fixed

there unless with some emphasis we remove her to make room for Judith.

Jonathan left "unto my loving wife Martha my Dwelling house in Charles Town and all the Land paled in ab^t^ the same during her Natural life, and after her Death . . . to my sonns Thomas and Robert Amorys. . . . Unto my said Loving Wife all her wearing apparel and all the Plate and household Goods belonging to my said Dwelling house . . . Unto my Daughter Sarah the sum of Three hundred Pounds and to my Daughter Anne the like sum . . . All the . . . Residue of my Estate both Real and Personal in this World I give . . . unto my loving Wife Martha and my Two Sonns Thomas & Robert Amorys to be equally divided between them." His wife was to be sole executrix during her life, and to be succeeded by Thomas and Robert. She was authorized to sell the real estate, but any money raised thereby must be secured to the sons. Among other legacies was one "to Sarah Rhett, Daughter to Capt^n^ Wm Rhett Ten Pounds paid into the hands of her Mother to buy her a gold chaine."

Two years after the date of his will Jonathan died. The year 1699 was a year of calamities in Charleston. Pirates, hurricane, flood, a devastating fire, a fatal epidemic of smallpox are reported, and finally the Governor and Council write [88] to the Lords Proprietors of "a most infectious pestilential and mortal distemper . . . which was brought in among us into Charles Town about the 28^th^ or 29^th^ of August last past; and the decay of trade and mutations of your Lordships' public officers occasioned thereby. This distemper from the time of its beginning aforesaid to the first day of November killed in Charles Town at least one hundred and sixty persons: among

whom were Mr Eley, Receiver General; Mr Amory, Receiver for the Public Treasury; Edward Rawlins, Marshall; Edmund Bohun, Chief Justice. Amongst a great many other good and capital Merchants and Housekeepers in Charles Town, the Rev Mr Marshall our Minister was taken away by the said distemper." One historian speaks of the victims as "an incredible number of people among whom were . . . almost half the members of the Assembly"; another says they included "nearly all of the public officers and one half the legislature." The survivors fled into the country—"the town was thinned to a very few people." Jonathan's widow Martha died almost immediately after him, having provided for the care of her three little children and of the property that was theirs and their absent half-brother's, by putting everything into the hands of Captain and Mrs. Rhett, mentioned in her husband's will. Rhett, of Dutch extraction but born at London, had come to Carolina in 1694 with his wife and child. Twenty-eight years of age, merchant and sea-captain by profession, he had qualities which soon found their sphere in the politics of the colony and its military defence. "Men of his decided courage and conduct," says Mr. Ramsey, "were eminently useful in the first period of colonization." His name is usually coupled with that of Nicholas Trott, formerly Governor of the Bahamas, then Attorney General and Naval Officer of Carolina. Ramsey calls them "the most distinguished Carolinians of their day."[89] Trott and his wife were witnesses to Martha Amory's will,[90] in which the first item is: "I do give . . . unto my dear Friend Mrs Sarah Rhett my Gold Watch and my horse and horse Netts and my white quilted Petticoat." Then, "Unto W^m^ Rhett Junior, the Son of Capt^n^

W^m^ Rhett five pounds to buy a ring . . . Unto Sarah Rhett the Daughter of Capt^n^ W^m^ Rhett Twenty Pounds." The legacies to her own children were: "Unto my son Robert Amory my wedding ring . . . Unto my Daughter Sarah my Gold Girdle buckle & gold Locket & six Silver Spoons . . . Unto my Daughter Anne my gold Shoe buckles and a gold buckle of my night Raile and Six Silver Spoons." "Item, I do give and bequeath unto my Son Thomas Amory my largest silver Tankard." All her other estate whatsoever she left to Thomas and Robert, Thomas's part, if he should die without issue, reverting to Robert and the two girls. "I do nominate and appoint my dearly beloved Friend Mrs Sarah Rhett . . . Executrix . . . and my beloved Son Robert Amory Executor of this my last Will . . . and . . . the Education of my Children Robert Amory, Sarah & Anne, shall be at the sole ordering of" Mrs. Rhett, who is also to be sole Executrix during Robert's minority. The provincial records show that Robert and Ann died soon after their mother, and "Thomas Amory son of said Jonathan Amory being in England, the adm̃n of the personal estate of said Jonathan Amory was granted" to Sarah Rhett, "Exix of the last will of said Martha Amory deceased, . . . legally appointed Curatrix of the said Thomas Amory only son and heir at law of the said Jonathan Amory; and Guardian of Sarah Amory the only daughter living of the said Jonathan." By Act of Assembly,[91] March 1st, 1706, Mrs. Rhett was given power to sell "with the advice and consent of Ralph Izard, Esq., and Job Howes Esq."

Mrs. Rhett's account[92] rendered on making a division between the heirs in 1707, shows that Jonathan Amory's house was let soon after his widow's death to Colonel James Moore,

who within the year became Governor. He had the house at a rent of £29 per annum for two years and two months, giving it up apparently at the same time with the governorship. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, succeeding him in that office, also for six months took the house. Its next tenant was a Mrs. Elizabeth Hastings, who had it less than a year before it burned down and the estate had no farther receipts from it. Colonel and Mrs. Rhett afterwards built a house for themselves on the site, and this is mentioned by Dr. Joseph Johnson[93] in 1851, as "still the respectable residence of Mrs. E. Stoney, No. 26 Hasel Street." Dr. Johnson also states that after Colonel Rhett's death, when his widow married Nicholas Trott, the property which had belonged to the Amorys became known as Trott's Point. It "extended from the channel of Cooper river westwardly to King Street, embracing both sides of Hasell Street on the south, and both sides of Wentworth Street on the north. The lot No. 48, adjoining to 'Cumming's land' also extended beyond King Street westwardly to St. Philip's Street where 'Cumming's land' commenced." Mrs. Rhett's Accounts mention, beside sixteen town-lots, over 3,000 acres outside the town under the names Bear Swamp, Meaders, the Cowpen, and Clowters. Clowters, comprising 420 acres, was a rice plantation, with an overseer, named Elias Storey, and negroes counted as eight men, eight women, five boys, and three girls. There were also negroes at the Cow Pen,—300 acres—and rice was sold from it. John Storey and Joseph Ward were two of Mr. Amory's servants, who died in November, 1699, Mrs. Rhett charging the estate with the expense of "inviting the People" to their funerals. She mentions, also, two negro servants, Hercules and Mercury, and

several times pays for the material and making of clothes for the negroes. January 31st, 1699-1700, she pays £44 0*s*. 5½*d*. for one eighth of the Brig Dove's cargo; £38 10*s*. 8*d*. for "one eighth of the charges of the last voyage and the outsett of this Present being bound for the Western Islds." On the same date she receives "of Captain Richard Cock for the ⅛ part of the Proceeds of the Wine imported in the Brig Dove £120 4*s*. 6*d*."

Part of the estate, lot No. 55, is defined as the tanyard. On the 4th of January the Executrix sells 1,454 lbs. of leather for £36 7*s*. 0*d*. She sells Bisquet at 28 shillings per 100 lbs.; barrels of flour at 20 shillings per 100 lbs., or sometimes at 22/6 or 25 shillings; salt at 1 shilling 6¾*d*. per bushel; rice from the Cow Pen at 15 shillings per 100 lbs; from Clowter's at 6 shillings 8¼*d*. She sells Calf-skins, bear-skins, negro shoes, raw silk; a Boat £13; Guns at £1 apiece, gunpowder at £5 per 100 lbs.; ten wether muttons for £7 10*s*. 0*d*.; and a lamb 10 shillings." She buys "1025 foot of Boards to make the Silk Works at the Plantation;" pays about £30 to clothe the negroes; six shillings and threepence "for taking up the Negroe Cæsar when he ran away;" one pound "paid Coll. Gibbs for taking up a wild horse belonging to the Estate of Mr. Amory." Again, "Boards and timber for the silk-works at Clowter's Plantation;" "powder and shott for the Plantation;" "a gallon of Brandy for the Overseer." There are payments, too, of Dr. Marshall's salary to the date of his death (September 8th, 1699) made to his widow; and to her also "for y^e^ freight of y^e^ Publick Library by order of the Commissioners £12." Probably Jonathan Amory was Churchwarden. The "Publick Library"[94] was a collection of books "sent over to Charlestown for the use of this Province," by the joint muni-

ficence of the Lords Proprietors; of the Bishop of London's Commissary in Maryland, Dr. Bray; and of several Carolinians. In 1700, the Assembly finding it to be "justly feared that the Books belonging to the same will quickly be embezzled damaged or lost," passed an Act placing them under the care of the Incumbent of the Church of England, in Charlestown, or when that post should be vacant, under the care of the Church Wardens. November 18th, 1699, Mrs. Rhett pays, "To whitewashing the house 11 shillings 3^{d}; to two flatt load of Shells to lay in the Guarden and Yard £1; to John Bonee for Pales & Rails £1 18*s.* 1½*d.*; to Mr. Manigault for making the fence &c. £1 7*s.* 6*d.*; to mending the windows £1." Among the personal effects and household furniture sold are: "a Black silk Petticoat with silk fringes, a pair of Spanish leather shoes; a suit of holland head-cloaths;" 12 cane chairs sold to Landgrave Thos. Smith £6; an Oval Table and one Square Table sold to Dr. Edward Marston (Dr. Marshall's successor at St. Philip's) at £1 10*s.* 0*d.* and £1 2*s.* 6*d.*; One large looking glass £2 10*s.*; 2 Alabaster Images; 2 Glass Bottles and 1 drinking glass, 10 shillings; a Checker Board and Men 2 shillings and 6 pence; an old box and desk 10 shillings; a Cydar Chest £1 5*s.* 0*d.*; a very old Chest 5 shillings; recd. of my Self for a Suite of Silk Curtains etc. with white Lining £3 5*s.* 0*d.*; a parcell of old fashion lace; two small hilted swords; one hanger. The sum of £12 is received "of my Self for one girdle gold buckle, 1 pr. of gold shooe Buckles, 3 gold Shirt Buckles, one pair of gold night raile Buckles, 2 gold Rings, weighing in all 2 ounces, 8 penny weight at £5 per oz." A small oval table is sold for 12*sh.* 6*d.*; 5 Leather Chairs 7*sh.* 6*d.*; 3 doz. old Pewter Plates and 63 lbs.

of very old Pewter Dishes, 3 doz. new Pewter Plates, 4 new Pewter Dishes." "Recd. of Mr. Fr. ffidling for one Negroe Man called Pompey sold at Publick Outcry £28 5*s.* 0*d.*— abated for present money 5 p. ct." "Cash recd. for a Indian Girl named Nancy £16. For 2 Indian Boyes named Cubid & Brutos £29 15*s.* 0*d.*"

CHAPTER V.

Bunratty, 1677-1728.

JONATHAN'S son Thomas had been living in London since 1694 with that other Thomas Amory, his cousin and godfather, who was Thomas of Galy's only son, and whom we distinguish as Bunratty. This is a rather arbitrary designation, for he did not buy the lease of Bunratty Castle until after he was fifty, and he sold it again within fourteen years, dying there a year or two later as sub-tenant, it would seem. Ann Ramsey and her husband[95] write of him as "the Squire." His mother, who had married again, died in London in 1713, her second husband, Charles Roe O'Connor Kerry, having escaped to France after taking King James's side in 1690. Of her four daughters one Amory[96] and one O'Connor[98] died unmarried; Elizabeth Amory[97] became first Mrs. Hart of Grangebridge, co. Clare, and afterwards Mrs. Croker; and Julia O'Connor married[98] her cousin Charles O'Connor of Dublin. Bunratty entered at Trinity College,[99] Dublin, in 1677, took the B.A. in 1681, was in that year allowed "being now nineteen years of age" to act as executor[100] of his father's will; obtained in June, 1683, an Exchequer decree[101] com-

pelling his guardian Raymond Fitzmaurice to release to him some three hundred acres in Shrone and elsewhere; in the following October was admitted at the Middle Temple,[102] London; six weeks later brought the suit for Cottrell's holding, and then began a forty years' worrying of the heirs of the mortgagee who had possession of the other Brislington property. He did not deny that his father had not "punctually paid the mortgage money," and that his guardian had for several years neglected the matter although they had abundant funds in Ireland to meet the obligation. In 1700 Bunratty returned to Dublin as Register to the new Irish Forfeitures[103] Commission appointed to investigate the scandals of the first one. In 1702 his uncle Robert landed at Galway[104] returning from the West Indies, to spend the rest of his life chiefly in the counties of Galway and Clare. Robert's tobacco-planting and trading had been so far successful that he was able to buy through his nephew part of the lands[105] forfeited by the third Viscount Clare. This we learn from letters. In such deeds as we have[106] Robert's name appears only as a witness, and Bunratty only as lending cash—under £400—for the purchase to one McDonnell, who, however, made over to him half the land and a mortgage on the other half. Five years later (1709) Bunratty assigned both halves for £1,273 18*s.* 6*d.* to Joseph Damer of the city of Dublin, Gentleman, but probably merely as security for a loan, for out of twenty-two lands mentioned by name in the deeds, fourteen reappear in his settlement of his estate in 1726.[107]

Joseph Damer was in the early eighteenth century an important personage in Dublin, inasmuch as all the chief

people of the place were borrowing money from him at a high rate of interest. To outward appearance he was a very poor old man, lodging over a tavern near Christ Church, and spending nothing there or elsewhere. Dying in 1720 at the age of ninety, he left an estate in Tipperary to one nephew, and an estate in Dorsetshire to another. A grandnephew who inherited both was created Baron Milton, and afterwards Earl of Dorchester. (See below, Chapter XVI.)

In 1703 Bunratty married[108] Katharine, widow of Simon Luttrell, and had lawsuits with Simon's treacherous brother to obtain her jointure. She died pending the suit, but Bunratty continued it, and we find him four years later appealing to the House of Lords from the decision of the courts. In 1710 Robert Amory died at Bunratty, co. Clare, apparently intestate, but a will which he had left at Antigua was proved there, a copy arriving in Ireland two or three years later.[109] By this will he made bequests to his Galway brother and sisters, leaving the residue of his property to Bunratty or, if the latter should die without lawful heirs, to "my nephew Thomas Amory, the son of my brother Jonathan Amory deceased." Bunratty had already taken possession of the property in Ireland as Robert's next-of-kin: he now proved the will at Dublin after getting his uncle John's attestation that he believed it to be genuine, and his consent that Bunratty should execute it. The document at the Dublin Record Office has therefore John's name twice signed upon it, each signature having a seal beside it. (See below, Chapter XVI.)

In 1712 Bunratty bought,[110] from his third cousin once removed (a young O'Brien who was Earl of Thomond, and with whom that title died), a lease of the ancestral castle of

the O'Briens at Bunratty, co. Clare, where he lived for the rest of his life. He had also a town house in the northern part of Dublin.[111] In 1717 he married[112] Elizabeth Durroy who survived him. In 1719 a Bristol merchant carried up a suit[113] against him from the Irish Court of Chancery to the House of Commons at Westminster, accusing him of various injustices, on which, however, we do not hear Bunratty's answer. In 1728 he died.

The statement in Burke (General Armory, editions of 1878 and 1884) that "Thomas Amory, Esq. of Bunratty, was Lord Palatine of South Carolina under John Locke's charter," was based on a supposition of Mr. T. C. Amory's that the name "Tho. Amy" among the signatures of the Lords Proprietors might be a contraction of Thomas Amory, and so account for Jonathan Amory's emigration to the province. Too much is now known of Thomas Amy[114] to admit of such a supposition. He was in London, acting as trustee for some of the Lords Proprietors, in 1682, when Bunratty had never left Ireland; he married his daughter to a London cousin and namesake of Nicholas Trott, and he died in 1704, having been long a Proprietor though never Lord Palatine. We may remark that the Company were proprietors of Carolina as a whole, not South or North; and that it was their Constitution, not their Charter, which was John Locke's.

Mr. Weedon ("Economic and Social History of New England,") has understood that Bunratty placed his young cousin from Carolina at Westminster School, but the historian of the School, Mr. John Sargeaunt, to whom the Headmaster in 1896 referred my inquiry, states that there is no Amory on

the books earlier than Bunratty's grandson, Robert, who was there in 1745. About the time of his father's death, Jonathan's son Thomas was apprenticed to Nicholas Oursel, a French merchant in London, and went, no doubt, as was the custom, to live in his master's house.

CHAPTER VI.

The Azores, 1706-1718.

"T.A. MDCXCIX." is stamped in gilt on the white parchment cover of a pocket-book [115] still in good condition. The earliest date inside, however, is April 1st, 1706, when £3 8*s.* 0*d.* is "received from M. Oursel to pay my expences to Bristoll." At Bristol, it seems, the apprentice embarked, going as factor to Terceira in the Azores. A letter [116] which his master wrote to him implies that more than one vessel was employed in the expedition, and that Amory had a general command of the little fleet. He received directions concerning the disposition to be made of ships and cargoes on reaching the Azores, where, on his way to Angra, he touched at Fayal. The merchandize which he brought from England included blankets, stockings, nails, Cheshire cheeses, calimancoes, etc., and farther on in the account book are "du sucre, le Irish frize, du scavon, 8 Chapeaux."

"Londres ce 30 Avril 1706.

"Mons. Thomas Amory

"Monsieur

"Jay En Leurs tams receu Les vostres 11 : 18 & 19 courant

par Lapremiere Jay vostre Comte de debours depuis Londres y Compris 35/ payer au Cousin le Berquien a comte de ces guajes Le tout Ensemb : ce monte à Ls. 3 : 17 : dont vous aij donné Credit & debitté premierement pour les Ls. 3 : 8 a vous payé a Londres avant vostre depart & pour Les £4 : 9 reçues a Bristoll de Mons. Peloquin. . . .

"Jay eu du Chagrin d'aprendre par La vos^re^ du 19 Comme deux devos Matelots vous avients quite vous estiez alors bien foible déquipage. Je vous suis oblige de cequaves prins La Resolution nonopstant Lepeu de mattelots departir. Le Bon Dieu vous afavorisez dubeau tam & Vent favorab ce quej aprendray avec beaucoup de Joye & quavez trouvé tout comme nous nous sommes Proposes. Dieu Leveille avoir faict accomplir & nous donner Sa ste Benediction. J'espere quavez promtement depesche Le Cap^ne^ Gouy suiv^t^ mes ordres cequaprendray volontiers. . . .

"Voillatout vous recommandant La Vigilance, L'exactitude, L'ordre & La fidellité Jevo Salue & Le Cousin Le Berquien & Reste

"Monsieur, Vostre tres humble Serviteur,

"Nicolas Oursel."

The following letter[117] must have arrived the next winter :

"South Carolina, Nov. 20^th^, 1706.

"Mr. Thomas Amory, Sr.

"Inclosed I have sent you Coppyes of the Letters I sent to you supposing they would find you in England, & by Mr. Pacquereau hearing you were gon to fiall and haveing this oppertunity by a Vessell from hence to the Madera thought proper to lett you know how things are with us. I

have nothing to add since those were wrote but that yo^{r} Sister is married to Mr. Arthur Midleton, & it is much to my satisfaction, he is a very sober Ingenious man & is worth £800—or £1,000 & is believed to be one of the best matches in the Country. I doubt not but she will be very happy. She was married 29th of October last & now we shall with all possible speed come to the division of the Estate & I hope by the next oppertunity I shall be able to give you Acct whatt will be your Share. & be Ashured I will do you all the Justice Imaginable, for though I do not personally know you yet you being the son of my friend, I shall study your interest to my utmost power.

"Pray write to me by way of Madera & if you please to Informe my husband what will be proper for yo^{r} Island if we find it will do here he will send a vessell to you. he gives you his best Respects & so doth yo^{r}

"Ashured friend and most
"Humble Servant
"Sarah Rhett.

"I suppose Mr. Midleton writes you by this oppertunity. You may write by New England, New York or Pensilvania and they will come safe."

With January 1710-11 begins the series of Thomas Amory's letter-books[118] in which we follow the rest of his history. [I.] In March, 1711, Oursel has lately visited the Azores and returned to London. Amory thinks of making a voyage thither next year; he asks if there is news of Colonel Rhett; and would like to be English consul at Angra. "I do assure you," he adds, "that all the shop-keepers here in the city had

rather buy of me than of any other, and have their word for the same."

[II.] "Angra, April 24, 1711. Our news here is y^t^ King Philip was to besiege Barcellona and had taken Aaragon and Geronio, but that there is great Recruits going to King Charles from England, Lisbon, Portmorone, &c., y^t^ will spoil all his attempts. Ys news came by a ship from Gibraltar bound for Boston."

This, of course, was the war of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) in which William the Third shortly before his death had united all the rest of Europe against France. He was enabled to bring his English subjects to a leading part in it, cold as they were to Continental interests, because Louis XIV. had enraged them by recognizing the Stuart Pretender. Marlborough's brilliant victories with the forces of the Grand Alliance—an alliance including before the end Holland, England, the Empire, Prussia, Portugal and Savoy—gained William's main end, a degree of safety for the world's civil and religious liberty menaced by France. The immediate object of the war, however,—to prevent Louis from gaining the vast dominion of Spain for his grandson Philip of Anjou—was abandoned. "King Charles," Archduke of Austria, became Emperor; and "King Philip" was allowed to have Spain, with some deductions of territory, notably of Minorca and Gibraltar, which were ceded to England.

[III.] In May, 1706, Thomas Amory thanks Bunratty for a letter: "Am heartily sorry to see y^t^ you are so hard put to it for my account . . . the sloop I had in partnership with a friend of mine, after their arrival here from Brazeel we sent

her to Boston . . . we suppose she was foundered at sea having heard nothing of her . . . a great loss, with others I have recd besides at sea . . . has put me much backward and not able to do for you as affectionately do desire. Pray God blessing me & give me good success & put me in a Capacity of gratifying you, the kindnesses I have received shall never be unmindful of retaliating y^m^ . . . Y^t^ Bond of yours to Mr. Oursel I have given him particular charge to deliver it you up, as well when here as by my letters to him w^ch^ you may depend he'l no manner of way refuse having much more in his hands of mine. I see you put C£ for Interest. I suppose he l not take any Interest. If should would take it a little hard usage for w^t^ I have done for him . . . if does shall write him particularly thereon. . . . As to the Bonds due to my Brother Ramsey I dont think y^t^ I am any wayes obliged to pay y^m^ out of my own getings . . . if it is due it must be paid out of w^t^ my ffather left at Carolina w^ch^ is all there in Mad^m^ Rhett's hands. I do receive letters often from her and am very well satisfyed with w^t^ she does . . . nor do I design to take anything out of her hands thinking it very secure w^ch^ may serve one time or another In case of misfortune. She has writt me that those Bonds are not due and if they were my Brother Arthur Middleton is [to] be liable for his share of the Payment. Mr. Middleton is now in England and Mrs Rhett writes me y^t^ my Sister has two fine children a son and a daughter. I am heartily sorry to hear of our uncle Robert's death and wonder that a man of his understanding and carefullness should die without a will. You mention to me of marriage there is no such thing to be thought on if I lived here ever so long. if things dont go to my expection I

shall think of removing to some other forreign part, Italy, Spain, &c. where ever do goe shall allwayes give you Notice for here I must stay a twelve Month to accomplish all my business and goe of honorably at y^e^ end of y^t^ time shall noe How to proceed. I wish you would stand my ffriend w^th^ y^e^ people in y^e^ north to procure me buisness, & endeavour to get y^e^ Consulage of these Islands from y^e^ Queen or Secrty for w^ch^ I should be humbly obliged to you. I am overjoyed when receive of your letters and may depend shall not be neglectfull in answering y^m^ wishing we had frequent correspondence together as being——."

[IV.] "Angra. 17 May. 1711. Loveing Brother: James Ramsey: was favoured with yours 28 ffebruary being heartily sorry to hear of your bad Misfortunes: As to the Bond y^t^ my Cousin made to you for those you had of my ffathers I am much obliged to you for your affectionate service therein to me. I have writt to my Cousin particularly ab^t^ it and to him I refer you. I have writt to Mad^m^ Rhett about y^e^ Papers concerning the house at Bristow but have not had any answer thereof: when write to her shall mention y^e^ same a New. My Kind Love to my sister & Brother and my young Nephews heartily wishing you & y^m^ all health & Prosperity as being ——"

[V.] "Angra, May 22. 1711. To Antonio Perez.

". . . There arrived from Lisbon Capt Rhodes, no news from the North, at Lisbon they expect 52 English Men of Warr. Upon the frontiers there was a design to cut off all y^e^ English Army by a plott w^ch^ is y^e^ Reason of y^e^ Men of Warr going to Lisbon, as soon as they arrive there may expect further News."

[VI.] "August 30, 1711," he congratulates Colonel Rhett on "your great success in your Guinea voyage and the good market you came to. . . . I see . . . you design to goe on Building and make y^e^ most advantage you can for my Interest of w^t^ I have in your hands for w^ch^ I am extreamly obliged to you and wholly leave every thing to your good Management and confirm by this to act w^t^ you please therein as if your own but beg y^e^ favour of you to dispose of no Lands nor houses but to the contrary wish I had more there for I have a longing mind . . . to goe to Carolina . . . to settle there, for where I am is no great place of trade and buisness very uncertain." He asks advice as to where he shall settle,—"being, thank God, fitt for any Part. . . . Our Trade here the securest is goods from Great Brittain as Bayes. . . . Drugetts, Serges, hatts, stockings wch constantly goes off well and sells at above Ct. per Ct. but when have it not from y^e^ North generally get it from Lisbon, and here we could easily naturlize any forreign ship a Portuguese to send to Brazeel, w^ch^ if I could gett a cargoe suitable there is great money to be gott . . . also could send them under Portuguese colours to Guinea . . . they should goe to Brazeel if could see any advantage but Negroes sells as well at Carolina as at Brazeel for there they never give above 150 ℔ p. head at most for lusty Negroes and Boyes 40, 50, & 60 ℔ according as they are. . . . My kind Love to Mad^m^ Rhett; . . . to her made bold to consign from ffayal . . . a silk Gownd, pettycoat & Stomacher . . . w^ch^ be pleased to desire her to dispose of to my most advantage."

[VII.] "Angra, Eoje 3^rd^ 8^bro^ 1711. Mr Nicholas Oursel . . . see y^t^ you and your good family goes to settle at Dublin. I heartily wish it may to the contentment of you & yours w^th^

all the blessings that this world can afford. . . . I have sent some ventures to Brazeel &c and before can have y^{m} here will be about a twelve Month. . . . I should be heartily glad to leave this Place, the sooner the better for I am tyred with it, but as y^{t} I have no encouragement otherwayes and now warr time must have patience. I wish you would be pleased to propose something for our mutual advantage w^{ch} I shall easily take up with w^{ch} may be well trusted to paper for I never knew any to open my Letters . . . not doubting of your affection towards me as I have for you & y^{e} Rest of your good ffamily to whom pray present my humble Respects in General, Especially to Madm. Oursel & Miss Betty."

[VIII.] May 13, 1712, he repeats to Arthur Middleton what he has said to the Rhetts about Carolina and his land. Middleton has been successful in the business on which he went to London and has now returned home.

In the summer of 1712 eight sail of the line under Admiral Baker were sent to meet the Brazil fleet and go with it to Lisbon. While cruising off the Azores, waiting for the fleet, this squadron captured an unlucky French merchantman, bound from Marseilles to Canada, laden with wines, brandies, silks, and soap, a ship of over two hundred tons' burthen and twenty guns. After selling a small part of the cargo at Fayal, the Admiral brought his prize to Angra and sold it with all it contained for something over three thousand moidores to three merchants, William Fisher, Andrew White, and Thomas Amory, Fisher with his partner taking half, White and Amory each a quarter. The wine and brandy were "to sell well at the north or at Lisbon," and the management of this enter-

prise was intrusted to Amory who planned to go in the prize ship—he gives its name as the "Mercury Volante"—to Lisbon, under convoy of the squadron. He "shipt aboard besides her cargoe to the value of several hundred mil reis in sugars & Terceira brandy & other Cargoe, being for Acct & Compª 500 hhds of French wine, forty kegs of brandy, rinestone IV ii Chests of Cales Soape having left on the Acct & Compª upwards of 3000 covoe at Terceira in silks."

[IX., Angra, Sunday.] "Sept 18. 1712. To Mr Henry Hughes [in command of the 'Mercury']. If any bad weather should come up yᵗ you were forced to Lisbon with the Men of Warr pray deliver wᵗ you have on board for my . . . acct wch is 2 Chests & a Half-Chest of Sugar, 7 pipes of Brandy, 2 qr Casks of Dº & 2 qr. Casks of Passado to Messrs Eyre & Watts, merchts at Lisbon, to dispose of to my best advantage as also wᵗ ever else you have on board and take their Receipts for the same & discount with them for yᵉ Pipes of Brandy yᵗ you owe me & 143¾ covˢ. of Wine at 60 c. I do design please God to be aboard of you to morrow wherefore iff weather should permitt to send me your Boat ashoare yˢ in case I write for fear you should be blown off with yᵉ Men of Warr whose company be sure not leave; and if the weather was so bad yᵗ you could not send your Boat ashoare to morrow do design to send all my things & self aboard of Captain Holt & there continue till I gett aboard of you or meet you at Lisbon. Am with best affection ——"

On the Monday, the storm had come: the "Mercury" stood out to sea and sent no boat ashore.

Amory and White thought they might possibly reach the squadron where it lay off Prage, but on taking a boat thither on Tuesday they found the ships were too far out. White returned to Angra. The next morning a large ship appeared off the Road, and Amory supposing her to be the "Mercury," got a boat and went off, but could not reach her and was obliged to return. That same afternoon he learned that she was one of the Brazil fleet which had at last arrived at Angra. The news was brought by a Portuguese brigantine sent by the Angra Customs authorities to tell Admiral Baker. Not finding the Admiral at Prage, the brigantine was to look for him till the next day, and then return to Angra. On this understanding Amory went on board, but within twenty-four hours on Thursday the 22nd, the brigantine sighted a single sail, and lest it should mean the French, fled before the wind to St. Michael's. There lay a Portuguese vessel ready to sail for Lisbon, and Amory immediately took passage in her, but before he embarked she was wrecked in a storm, hard by Ponta Delgada, and for a fortnight or more no other chance offered. There was nothing to do but to write all about it to all his correspondents: the big letter-book has as many as ten letters in one day, filling thirteen closely written pages.

[X.] . . . "There is great hopes of a Peace," he says in one, "more than ever, for the ffrench has delivered up Dunkerke as a pledge to the English where they have put 15,000 Men and by the first Pacquet from England they think it will be confirmed." To Admiral John Baker, "hope shall have [at Lisbon] y^e^ honour to kiss hand and to wish you joy of your happy convoys. the fleet in safety to Lisbon being heartily

glad for your honour's sake y^t^ you accomplished your desires after so great trouble you had."

[XI.] To Mrs. Rhett he writes of his great disappointment; he had hoped to realize enough by the voyage "to have a small matter to begin withal to remain in London;" has left of his own at Terceira, "all debts paid, nigh five thousand mil reis." At last in a Portuguese vessel he left St. Michael's with a passport from both the English Consul and the French. "We had a long passage from St. Michael's to Mazogan, making Saffee in 10 days & before we could get to Mazogan was 17 days continually in sight of land. We found we had war with Saffee which put me in a peck of trouble how to get to Faro where the ship was bound but thank God we had good weather at Mazogan being there 10 days & from there to Faro. I should not have repented seeing Mazogan now that thank God I have escaped the dangers of the Saffees if I had not had always the Prize in my thoughts & wishing to get to her, for I had the pleasure upon the walls to see the Portuguese fight with the Moors & will assure you the Portuguese behaved very well. Nevertheless there were none of them killed only two horses wounded for as soon as the Moors came under the reach of the great guns made off and stole away being all horsemen on extraordinarily fine horses. While I was there the Padua galley Capt John Headland a ship of 24 guns as she was sailing out for Madeira was cast away and they had much ado to save the lives two men being drowned, and the Moors continually making their appearance. On the 6th got here. . . ."

He found the "Mercury" at Lisbon waiting for him, but

with part of her cargo lost by means of "a bad storm" during the voyage, "many casks being stove." As Protection in Portugal forbade the sale there of French wines and brandies it became necessary to try the Dutch market for what remained. After selling part of the other cargo, Amory took a freight of sugars for Amsterdam, with oranges and lemons for England, and sailed north. At Plymouth about the 2nd of January he sold the oranges and lemons and left the "Mercury" to continue her voyage while he went by land to London, stayed there six days, and going to Harwich crossed thence to Holland. He arrived at Amsterdam, February 7th, to find that [XII.] "a very great storm" had blown several ships "ashore at y^e^ Texel, and among y^e^ Rest the Mercury whom broke all her 3 cables & like to be lost. . . . She was forced to be quite unloaded. . . . [This] has beene a great Disappointment & a great charge, here wines & Brandy are sould for little or nothing since the assessiation [cessation] of arms there went abundance of B[ritish] ships to all parts of France thinking that the duties of French wine & Brandys would have been taken off in Britaine w^ch^ not happening many of them came here and about 4 ms. ago Brandies bearing here a good Price they sent from the Streight great quantities, as Naples, Cales etc the frost stopping them at the Texel as did the Mercuri w^ch^ broke up about 3 weeks agoe and al acoming up here at one tyme made a great glutt that wines & brandies are sold here cheaper than in France & many of the ships that came from the Streights the merchants offered the Brandy for the freight."

[XIII.] Amsterdam, April 16, 1713. To Wm. Fisher, Andrew White & Francis Fisher.—After discussing how

best to employ the ship, since the wines have brought hardly enough to fit her out for a voyage to Brazil, he writes: "Tuesday last we had the news from Utrecht that the Peace was signed for Great Brittain, Holland, Portugal, Russia & Savoy. The Emperor having time till the middle of June next and since the Peace is Made there is not any body that will load in any English ship w^{ch} is a great misfortune to us again, believing we shall not gett above half freight and if the Peace had not happened should have been full yesterday being promised Goods enough before the Peace was made; so are resolved to sail from here Wednesday next goods or no Goods and touch at Portsmouth to take in some goods of Mr Fr. Fisher's & see if we can get any more freight, & so to Lisbon, it happening also to several English ships here y^{t} have taken freight for Leghorne &c . . . [They are] forced to goe . . . half loaden for since the Peace is signed several Dutch ships have put up for all parts of the Streights, Lisbon &c for ¼ of the Freight for what the English coent [covenant ?] for."

In a pocket-book he sets down that William Fisher has "my Noate payable at Demand for 6284^{mil} 177 Reis," and per contra that he has left in the said Fisher's hands at Angra 10710^{mil} 380 Reis; also "my Negroe Francis he has to keep for me; a horse he owes me about 60 mil 000; and Two Negroe Women that are in the Widdow Courand's keeping." At Amsterdam he pays various sums to Captain Hughes, to "the Matte," to "the men that looked after the goods y^{t} came in the lighters," to "the Brokersman," to "the Dr," "the pilote" etc. "To wine with the Carpenter 1 shilling"— "To Boatage aboard 1 shilling & 4 pence." He buys "a

Perriwig" for ten shillings; gives "the Dr. of the Mercury a months pay in advance 28 shillings"; pays "the Taylor for mending of Cloaths £9," and "for making of Cloaths in full £13;"—"my Sword mending £1 6*s.* 0*d.*" At London he spends "for a certificate to ride post 5 shillings & 6 pence; post horses from London to Portsmouth 74 miles at 6*d.* per mile £1 17*s.*; my box of bookes bringing down 4/9." At Lisbon he had his watch mended, bought "oyl for the hair 0: 480"; and paid the same price for a "Petition to the King about the Mercury."

[XIV.] Writing to Oursel, March 17th, he regrets that he must for this time give up going to Ireland, he hopes to do it next year. In April he reports to his partners that the wines have been disposed of but at so low a rate that, after the great expenses in getting the Mercury mended and sheathed, there will be difficulty in fitting her out for a voyage. He is having her so thoroughly repaired, however, that she will be fit to go to Brazil or any other part, and "will not want anything these two years unless some accident happen to her which God forbid . . . thought it most for our interest to take a freight for Lisbon and there wait your orders either to take another freight at Lisbon or load with salt, touch at the Islands and so to Newfoundland." The salt was decided on, and in July 1713, after a ten days' voyage from Lisbon he landed in Terceira, and the "Mercury" proceeded north-westward to discharge her salt and take in fish at Newfoundland, where, however, "she did not do well." It was then planned to send her to Guinea and Brazil, but Amory sold his part in her for 800 c. and joined Fisher in ordering [XV.] "a small vessel" to be

built "at New England by Mr. Jaffreys at Piscataqua. Our wines do for there and now and then linen cloth, and their lumber does here, but for your place," he writes to Colonel Rhett, "our wines will not do, and only wheat for Madeira which is uncertain not always having the Licences. It is here your lumber, pitch, tar, train-oil, wax, masts, staves, a little of all and as much wax as you please, do very well. But if we have no wheat, wines not doing, am sorry that we cannot encourage trade here directly from Charleston. Next year please God we have a tolerable harvest for wheat you may depend I can get licences among some of the islands St Michael's, this . . . or Pico Flores to 100 tons if the vessel came the latter end of August to the end of October and this I could provide every year, for there are some Rents w^ch^ are sold w^ch^ I could buy up that have the preference before others." . . .

There were no licences to export wheat in this year 1713. The harvest was so bad that at Angra, he says [XVI.] "if wheat were shipped the Poor would rise, and the same at St. Michael's." He speaks of an English ship that had been waiting for weeks at Angra to take her expected wheat cargo. The vintage was still worse. Instead of 40,000 pipes of wine, the ordinary annual produce of the islands, the most to be hoped for was 6,000 pipes, "not enough for the people's own drinking and they will not therefore give licence for the exporting of wines," and no brandies will be made. In October there was a great storm, by which out of twelve ships in the Road at Angra eight were lost. "Such a storm was never seen by the oldest man living, nor so bad a vintage." [XVII.] In November, telling a correspondent something of

the "Mercury's" story, he adds: "But the Poor Jack design to send to Brazil, and please God hope so to bring up my losses."

[XVIII.] To Bunratty he writes: ". . . Was very desirous to have seen you in London. I called at Mr Grahams and at your Lodging, they telling me before went to Holland that they expected you daily, and when came from Holland called there again but had no news from you."

After returning from the north he spent another six years at Angra. He was English and Dutch consul. There is no letter book for the three years from June, 1714. [XIX.] In July, 1717, he says: "I have not any manner of News but y^{t} all is quiet in Engld. and y^{t} abt 40 sail of Men of Warr is gone up y^{e} Baltick against the Sweeds." He had now more than one correspondent in New England, and with Mr. George Jaffrey at Portsmouth he had "settled a trade from there here, We being concerned in a Pincke that goes back & forwd. generally twice a year." [XX.] He writes to Mr. Jaffrey: "Here is one Daniel Leary y^{t} went saillor from here last voyage in y^{e} Pinke to New England he complains y^{t} he was not paid and his Wages kept from him unjustly he says he was 4 months aboard at 50*s.* p. month recd only 20*s.* by a pair of Bootts he had be pleased to lett me know at large abt it being I have promised to our head Judge y^{t} he should be paid if there was no just reason to y^{e} contrary; for w^{ch} be pleased to give me yr. orders."

[XXI.] "Angra 22nd July 1718. To John Whitton.

. . . . As to Capt^{n} Newton's from China, for my part I have not any Money nor Mr Bold nor I dont find any here has any Money to lay out in China silks & wares . . . its

w^{t} sells slowly & A long time before can see their Money again y^{t} none will take up with it. . . . I went to make a Vizett to the Rector of the Colledge y^{t} came fro ffayal wth Mr Bold but he happened to be out in y^{e} Country shall take An oppertunity to wait on him for truly the Jesuites in General are my particular friends."

CHAPTER VII.

South Carolina, 1718-1723.

AMORY was brought at last to the point of leaving the islands by a proposal from Colonel and Mrs. Rhett that he should marry their daughter Sarah if he could obtain her consent after coming to Charleston to ask it. They had made the offer in 1713, withholding the "Young Gentlewoman's" name, and he had accepted it, [XXII.] desiring them to marry him to her by proxy, "wch I do oblige myself by this to stand to, wch is common here among the Roman Catholics to marry so & their Wives to come to them. . . . If you could any wayes perswade her to come I should be heartily glad of it. . . . I dont desire y^t^ anything of her fortune should be sent with her no further than her wearing apparel and a maid to accompany her, lett cost what it will to put her ashore here or at ffayal. . . . When she is here and dont likeing she need not doubt but I settle all my buisness so to goe off where she pleases in the 2½ years." He received no answer to this, nor any news from Carolina for four or five years. He was, as he writes to Arthur Middleton, [XXIII.] "all together in the dark &

know not w^t^ I have there for I have given her a particular order not to dispose of any Lands or houses for I have a longing mind to make a trip there. Your advice thereon would give much encouragement. . . . One thing has been something backward thereto being we have heard of the Indians doing a great deal of Mischief & murdering many families but sense all is quiet I should be heartily glad to hear y^t^ you & all your good family came to no hurt nor damage."

In September, 1718, he heard from Mrs. Rhett who the "Young Gentlewoman" was, and that "'tis in Vain to propose anything at a distance. She . . . must be convinced by reason & conversation that the person she marrys will make her happy. . . . We have given her a very good Education, Viz^t^ Writing, Arithmetick, French, Musick, Dancing &c. As to her Person I can't say she is a celebrated Beauty, but she is a very agreeable young Woman of Great Modesty, agreeable Humor & Good Sense. I am of opinion if you come to Carolina in a reasonable time you may find her unmarryed. My husband proposes to make her fortune £2000 & must say if providence should so order it we should be pleased to have her match'd to one we Esteem as we do you."

[XXIV.] "I have been assured," is Thomas's comment (as he writes the story to his cousin, with a copy of the above letter), "by several that have seen her to be a very comely and Ingenious young woman and Colonel Rhett to be rich." He forthwith resigned his consulship, arranged his affairs, and

the next summer sailed from Terceira to Boston, a "39 dayes" voyage, landing July 13th (New Style), 1719.

He found letters from Arthur Middleton,[119] praising Miss Rhett as "very good Humer'd, Ingenious & discreet, & if it shall be your good fortune to gain her, She will make you very happy, & I doubt not of the Same on your Part to her. . . . I believe Coll° & Mrs Rhett are very much for it, at lest they tell me so, & will do you all the Servis they can. . . . Your Sister & my Selfe are very much for it . . . we shall be glad of having you with us, & if it will Sute with your Interest to settle amongst us this is what we have long desir'd. . . . When please God you are here you will better know what to have sent you & what you may have in other parts. If you bring any Gold or Silver with you to N: England, more or less, let me advise you to bring it with you, for here you may have it to great advantage./ Lett me now as I have in my former Letter advise you to fitt your Selfe well in Boston with Cloathes & Linnen, Gentele & well made, & a Gentele Sword, for these things are at high rates here. I would have you make as good an appearance amongst us as you can, It will be to your advantage & tis for that reason that I advise you to it & by the By, I believe it will please the Lady for she is very Gentele & briske but very Modest with all./ If you bringe your Negroes with you to Boston I advise you to bring them with you here for they will be of use if you come to be a Housekeeper with us. Here is one Hudson here that was some time ago in your Island, & he tells me you had thoughts of bringing your Negroes with you. Your Island Linin will also turne to good ac^t^ if you can bring it with

Safety. . . . Your Sister & the Children give their Dear Love to you, & I desire you will Accept the Same from

"Your Loveing Brother
"& Most Humble Servt
"Ar: Middleton."

[Outside:] "To
Mr Tho: Amory, Mercht
to be delivered to him when
he arrives at Boston
In New England
These."

The seal on this letter indicates no colours, but shows the shield fretty, a canton in the dexter chief. The crest is less distinct, but may very well also be the winged sheaf of the Middletons of Stockeld.

Colonel Rhett writes[120]—in a hand particularly large, clear and frank-looking:

"South Carolina, May the 26, 1719.

"Sr

"Yor Letter by way of Boston of the 2nd Mar. past we recd & observe the contents. As to what you write Relating to yo ordering of Linings here it will be verry Improper for as I am the Principall Officer of His Majesty's Customes we can noe ways Dispence with the Importation of any Forreign Linnens they being prohibited by our Laws of Trade & consequently Inconsistent with my oaths & Duty to permitt any such Trade. Tho I believe it is Practised by others. Therefore you had better Dispose of them att New England for I have nothing to Doe wth what is done there. But as you

have been a Factor a long time among the western Islands I think it would be hard to Debarr you from Bringing what Linnen is necessary for yo^{r} own household use as Table Cloaths, Napkins, Sheets &c for they are much wanted here & not to be had. Therefore I shall Dispence wth what you bring or send here for yr own service but however what you Doe that way Lett it be as Private as Possible.

"Yo^{r} Brother & sister Middleton are Both well I came from Thence Last weeke he gave me his company to visitt a Plantation of mine abo^{t} 20 miles from his we had the Oppertunity of Discoursing verry Largely upon yo^{r} affaires. . . . Have Promised Captain Middleton when Please God you arrive here (if you approve it) to Joyne you in Partnership wth my Son who is well settled to carry on Commission Business. . . .

"For as y^{r} Good Father & Mother Intrusted me with all their affaires nott only their Estate but the Care of their Children, So I think it is my Indispensable Duty to continue to serve you w^{ch} I shall do wth the same Justice & Affection as if you was my owne Son. . . . I a Shure you Deare S^{r}, Nothing is or shall be wanting In my Wife & Selfe to Promote a Union in our Famillys but of that I can say no more then that I heartily Desire it But as my wife wrote you all persons must chuse for themselves."

[Outside:] "To be left with the Hon. Jonathan Belcher, Merch^{t}."

[XXV.] To Arthur Middleton Thomas wrote July 6th: "I find Col. Rhett & Madam Rhett are very sincere & mightily for it w^{ch} is a great stepp to it. As to the providing

Thomas Amory

1682 - 1774

my self here with all necessaries to make a good appearance there, may depend shall do it, and I know it is necessary for w^ch^ Effect have cutt off my own hair since have been at Boston, and have writt to Coll. Rhett . . . hoping . . . to be with you by the month of October for it is necessary to tarry here a small time to make friends & prepare cloathg & Linnen. As to my Negroe women have left them at Terceira being I had no conveniency of brings them over but can soon order them for Carolina. I brought two blacks, a Boy my Slave whom Ille send by this conveyance if possible I can gett his cloaths finished the other is a lusty Man, ffree by reason of his honesty and goodness I brought him with mee. . . . Wee have Information here that you are again afraid of an Indian warr for my Part I cant putt it in my thoughts that they can do yo any General Prejudice if so I should think it would be convenient to have Effects secure in other Parts and am something in the mind to lay out some money out in land . . . would look out some part in this Country y^t^ I thought convenient for trade for here it is cheap at this time & ready money very temptg."

July 8th he consigns to Colonel Rhett "a boy ab^t^ twelve years of Age my slave," and encloses "the Bill of Laden," which bill testifies to his having shipped to Charleston, by Captain Davis, "my black boy by name John."—"I have had him," he tells Colonel Rhett, "about 5 years, he does not speak English but very good Portuguese and a sharp Boy that I have a kindness for him therefore desire you would keep him in your dwellinghouse till my arrival. . . . I have a couple of Black Women I left at Terceira y^t^ are extraordinary good whom I had to govern my house there . . . whom I

could not bring now being had no conveniency in the Sloop & too troublesome to carry round about."

After a business journey to Portsmouth and Piscataqua, and much activity in extending his acquaintance with the Boston merchants, he sailed for Carolina on September 16th, sending the "Bacchus" before him with a load of lumber and cod. [XXVI.] "If you find that I am taken by the Spaniards w^ch^ God forbid," he says to Colonel Rhett, "and that I am not likely to gett to your Place in 6 or 8 months time . . . desire & impower you to dispose of the said Pincke Bacchus to my best advantage." He was still happy in the reflection [XXVII.] that "Coll. Rhett is one of the Chiefest there both in Place & Rich withall and do keep their Coach living the best of any in the Place. . . . Arthur Middleton is one of the richest also."

He remained at Charleston until the next spring, returning then by a sixteen days' voyage to Boston, touching [XXVIII.] at "Martha's Vineyard where we stayed two dayes. . . . Have a letter," he tells Mr. Middleton, "from my Cousin Thomas Amory . . . do design to write him at large believing y^t^ he designs to make me his heir for there is none of my name younger than myself, & he does not design to marry. . . . Love to my Sister, my Godson & Master Harry."

[XXIX.] It is in the letter to Bunratty that his return from Charleston is explained. His cousin had announced[121] that "All your relations here are very desirous to hear of your being marryed and that you were removed from that Island where there are so few of y^r^ own Religion. . . . Your

aunt Hoskins dyed suddenly tother day of an apoplexy. God Almighty prepare us all for our latter End." Thomas replies from Boston, "16 June 1720. . . . Am sorry to hear of the Death of my Aunt Hoskins, tho unknown for I am altogether a stranger w^{t} relations I have, shall be glad if you'l please to give me an Acc^{t} of them and where they live, especially my Uncle John Amory if he is living or not, for I have not seen anybody that has been at Gallwey these several years. . . . At my arrival in Carolina was kindly recd into Col Rhett's family and lived in his house six months. The young Gentlewoman not being marryed but she promised herself to a Gentleman y^{t} was at Jamaico whom her ffather & Mother would by noe Meanes she shall marry designing not to give her any thing if she marrys him. She is a deserving young woman about 24 years old, but finding she was engaged, she declaring to me the wholle truth of the matter, occasioned my not having affection for her, but her Mother & Father would have her cast off her old Lover to persuade her to have me being very much dissatisfyed with her, but I knowing how matters ran had noe thoughts of marriage, then she offerd me another Daughter about 15 to 16 years, a Pretty Young Woman but I did so much dislike the Country by the unhealthfulness of the Place, the ffear they have of an Indian warr, the riseing of their Negroes, and the fear of y^{e} Spaniards coming to take the Place w^{ch} they expected daily all the time I was there, they being continually under arms, w^{ch} makes them very uneasie, for y^{e} Spaniards did come out as far as Providence & return'd back and y^{e} Negroes did rise while was there but they did not gett ahead & was soon supprest w^{ch} I dont doubt you have seen in the News Papers. . . .

Another thing when we have a ffrench Warr theyl be in a continual feare from Mobile & Mississippi y^{t} ballancing all things could not reconcile myself to the Place. I should have shortened my days & not have my health for thank God hitherto never was sick nor no manner of ailing. . . . Thank God I have a small matter of my own to live genteel where with good improvement & my hopes of having business from a Broad I dont doubt please God but to doe very well, designing to settle here (if can bare the winter) for this is a very good Place & people live very hansomely without fear of any thing & if do find a good offer shall marry w^{ch} I perceive in yours you are very desirous of it . . . here is choice of hansom Women but they have but little fortunes and mine but little wont do well together so shall wait to see how my affairs go. . . . While I was in Coll Rhett's house endeavourd to gett an Acc^{t} from Mad^{m} Rhett of w^{t} my ffather left me & how my affairs stood w^{ch} she would not do but just gave me an Eye of her Acc^{t} book So drew it out as well as I could & showed me some of my ffather's Papers w^{ch} as soon as I gott them into my hands left the house and took y^{m} away with me & would not deliver y^{m} up any more to her. . . . Among them I recd the Papers y^{t} belongs to my sister Ramsey of $\frac{1}{4}$ house at Bristol y^{t} belongs to her w^{ch} I have left in Mr Middleton's hands to be sent to her at demand."

Here he tells at great length how Mrs. Rhett had taken advantage of her position of trust to acquire for herself most of his inheritance. It must be remembered that the present Rhetts of Charleston do not inherit this name, but chose to adopt it about fifty years ago when it had long died out. It

is permissible therefore to treat the Colonel and his wife merely as historical personages. Mrs. Rhett had intended to make amends to Thomas Amory by the marriage with her daughter. "She'l repent of ever sending for me to Carolina," he writes, "for if I had not gone there, should never have known w^{t} I had there, & would have put me off with just nothing. . . . All the whole country is sensible of the injustice she has a mind to do me for my ffather was very well beloved there y^{t} although it is 20 years since his death they speak very affectionately of him w^{t} a good man he was, w^{ch} I was mightily pleased with, y^{t} the People is much more for me than for Col. Rhett's family. . . . Mr Arthur Middleton y^{t} is marryed to my sister was a schoolfellow wth me when I was at Carolina, he is a sensible Man & one of the Richest in the Country, upwards of 100 negroes, besides he has about 3 to 400 Ls sterling a year in England. My sister has had 8 children, only three Boyes alive, one was born while I was there to whom I stood godfather, one in Engld abt. 12 years of Aige at Wansor School, and another about 2 years old: they live very Genteel and very happily together w^{ch} is a great satisfaction to me to see she is so well provided for and is an Ingenious Woman." [XXX.] To Stephen Godin, June 20th, he remarks: "W^{t} my ffather left me . . . was upwards of One Thousand Pounds as money went 20 years ago."

Thomas had left a power of attorney with Mr. Middleton,[122] Mr. Robert Howe, and two other merchants, to bring a suit in his name in the Carolina courts, and if defeated there "desire you would appeal for England being there do expect to get Justice." The affair was long delayed, being complicated with a political revolution, which had taken place

while he was in Charleston, although his letters make no mention of it. Arthur Middleton headed the party formed to overthrow the Proprietary Government and to make South Carolina a Crown Colony. The Proprietors had lost more and more such hold as had ever been theirs on the loyalty of their restless province. The final break is traced to one or another of many causes, but part of every cause seems to be Nicholas Trott, the ambitious London lawyer, who had come to the colony in 1697 as the special favourite of the Lords Proprietors, had promptly thrown them over to become the idol of the people, and after a time reverted to his first patrons, who accepted him readily at a high salary. He was made Chief Justice and Judge of the Provincial Court of Vice-Admiralty. His brother-in-law Rhett—Rhett's son had married Trott's daughter—was appointed Receiver-General as well as Comptroller of the Customs, and was otherwise of importance, being Colonel of the militia and having more than once saved the city in imminent peril. Colonel Rhett had driven off five French and Spanish privateers at a time from the harbour, and in 1718, when there were fifteen hundred pirates along the American coast, he had given their horrible trade its fatal blow by capturing the notorious Stede Bonnet and his crew. As agent for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Rhett dispensed gifts to the clergy of the colony; and on his own account he presented plate to the new St. Philip's Church. He and Trott gained immense influence over elections to the Assembly. An Act which the people much desired, to regulate such elections, was strenuously opposed by the pair, and even after its passage was repealed by the Proprietors at their instance. The province was in

serious financial difficulty. The Yamassee Indians, allies of the English throughout the war of the Spanish Succession, had soon after been turned against them by the Government of St. Augustine. The massacre of ninety English at Pocotaligo in 1715 opened a war which destroyed almost the whole Yamassee tribe, cost the lives of four hundred Carolinians, and left the colony burdened with debt. To discharge this the Assemby laid a tariff upon imports and proposed to raise money by selling the Yamassee lands to settlers. Neither of these measures would the Proprietors allow. They claimed the lands as their own and vetoed the tariff Act. In December, 1718, another war beginning between England and Spain, a Spanish attack on Charleston was threatened, and Governor Johnson required money for the defence. The Assembly proposed to disregard the veto and collect revenue under the Act, but Trott as Chief Justice protested that such collection was illegal, and that the Courts would not enforce it. As he himself by this time constituted practically all the Courts and acknowledged no superior but the Proprietors, his protest was an effective bar. On this, thirty-one articles of complaint against him were drawn up and sent by the Governor, Council, and Assembly to the Proprietors. It was herein affirmed that he had "been guilty of many partial judgments . . . contrived many ways to multiply and increase his fees to the great grievance of the subject and contrary to Acts of Assembly; . . . had contrived a fee for continuing causes from one term to another, and put off the hearing of them for years; . . . took upon him to give advice in causes pending in his Courts . . . and . . . had also drawn deeds between party and party some of which had been contested before

him as Chief Justice, in determining of which he had shown great partialities. . . . The whole judicial power of the province was lodged in his hands alone, of which it was evident he had made a very ill use, he being at the same time sole Judge of the Courts of Common Pleas, King's Bench, and Vice Admiralty, so that no prohibition could be lodged against the proceedings of the Court, he being obliged in such a case to grant a prohibition against himself. He was also at the same time a member of the Council and of consequence a Judge of the Court of Chancery." The reply of the Lords Proprietors to all this consisted in sending Trott a letter of thanks for one of his recent speeches, only directing him to leave the Council-board during the hearing of appeals there from the inferior Courts. At the same time they dismissed the Council, nominated a new one which still included Trott, and ordered the election of a new Assembly. The bond so strained suddenly snapped. The Colony reflected that Trott's one superior authority was itself subject to the Crown.

Complaint to the King, indeed, had already been made. His Majesty had received in 1717 an address [123] signed by the Speaker and Commons setting forth their troubles from Indian depredations and the Proprietors' unkindness. Among the signatures are the names of Thomas Middleton, James Wilson, Francis Holmes, senior, Francis Holmes, junior, Roger Moore, William Holmes, John Croskeys, Joseph Croskeys, Robert ffreman, etc. In the same bundle of State Papers with this is one—I have not its exact date—accusing Colonel Rhett [124] of having, while he was Collector of the Port of Charleston, sold arms to the Spanish pirates and landed his return cargo without paying duties,

defending himself with the plea that Captain Hildersley had done it all, against his orders. The influence of Rhett and that of the Chief Justice sank together. The election was held, but not one man of their choice gained a seat. The new members met privately out of town, and, with the secretly conveyed assent of almost the whole country, formed themselves into a revolutionary convention with Arthur Middleton for president. When Governor Johnson called the Assembly to its first meeting it came, but its address to the Governor,[125] spoken by Mr. Middleton, was not in the usual form. "I am ordered," said Mr. Middleton, "by the representatives of the People here present to tell you that according to your honour's order we are come to wait on you: I am further ordered to acquaint you that we own your honour as our governor, you being approved by the King; and as there was once in this province a legal council, representing the Proprietors as their deputies, which being we do not look on the gentlemen present as a legal council: so I am ordered to tell you that the representatives of the people do disown them and will not act with them on any account." It is said that the Governor attempted to take Trott's advice at this juncture in order to have him responsible for what would follow, but Trott and Rhett contrived to hold aloof in silence until events should show them a safe course. The Convention offered Governor Johnson the post of Governor under the King. He refused the offer without power to resent the insult, since the militia had joined the revolution, and even Rhett, when "the bold and turbulent" James Moore was set up as Governor, accepted from him his commission as Colonel. By this step Colonel Rhett regained popular favour. He was continued

in his offices and made inspector-general of the fortifications besides. At the same time he wrote to assure the Proprietors that his submission to Moore was only that he might have better opportunities to converse with the people and persuade them to return to their allegiance. To which the Lords Proprietors answered that they were "not a little pleased" and wished him all imaginable success. Trott was for the moment less fortunate. He planned, indeed, a visit to England to renew his influence with their lordships as before, and proposed that the expense of it should be shared by Governor Johnson in return for having the Proprietors persuaded to keep him in office, but Johnson, very sensibly, declined. The provisional government maintained itself for a year and a half waiting for the Crown's acceptance of its work. It even, insecure as it was, made an effort to oust Rhett from the Comptrollership of Customs (its letters to London mention him casually as "that enemy to his country and detestable reviler of mankind"), but in this it did not succeed. Possibly he had something to do with a last effort made to re-establish the Proprietary Governor, even when the Royal one's arrival was daily expected. The "Flamborough" was a ship of the royal navy stationed at Charleston: how her Commander happened to lead in this attempt is not explained. We have the story from an ancestor of our own, Francis Holmes, writing[126] to his wife at Boston:

"South Carolina, May 17. 1721.

"My Dear Holmes

"My afaires have bin so encumbered that obloiedges me to stay from you & my deer Children for whose good I

am concarned. this poor country for want of a settled government tis very often at the Brink of rowen. Cap Hildesley Comandar of y^e^ flamborough Is of so proud and Insolant a Tempar that Hee cant perswade him Selfe but that Hee should Bee Gouarnar the Last week was a dismal Time evary man of sobstance In this Town lookt upon them selves entirely ruend upon the arival of the fenex Cap^t^ Peare Comandar from his trading voyeg to severall of the Spanish ports & in the West Indies, by the parsuasion of the Capt of the Flamborough joyned with Mr Jonson the formar Gouarnar under the Lords proprietors who came at the Hed of a parcell of Saylars to demand His Government the people beeIng aprized that their Capton promised them three days plundering of the Town got to arms & in a short Time by the prudence & stedy Tempar of Governar Moore and his Councell ware shamfully disgraced. However they are continually cabaling so as to make the people uneasy a few days agoe Hildesley would have bin tore to peeses by the moltitude ware it not for Gover. Moore & Mr Loyd a Gentleman who is one of his Councell, who putt them selves in Jepardy By so doing wee are dayly expecting General Nicolson & God in marcy will wee hope restore us. I have sent the Jornall of all the proceedings which is the shortar and moderat and nothing ensarted but what is fackt. I desire you will advise with a friend how to get them printed & for their encouragement if thay will send mee fifty copyes I will sell them for them here. You are to send one of them to Mr William Jeffreys in Bristol By order of Mr Charles Hill. Give Mr Campbell the ofor of them, if Hee refuses send to Mr Eliot & let them Bee as speedy as possible their are many things omitted that are very

agravating & the Jurnall is writt with the greatest moderation. Bee sure dont Let it goe out of your Hands till the printer sees it I fear I shall loos my opportunity, the Sloop BeIng under sayll must conclude with my harty wel wishes yours wilst Life

"FFRANCIS HOLMES."

Five days after the date of this letter, Sir Francis Nicholson (who had ruled New York over thirty years before as deputy to Sir Edmund Andros) landed in Charleston, and South Carolina came under the immediate authority of the King. "Our new Governr is arrived & is a brave old Genl: man," Arthur Middleton writes[128] to Thomas Amory, June 9th, 1721, "so that I have reason now to believe that our Country will be sett on a good foundation of Governt: & Every Easey & Secure in theire Estates, no body is to be cald to an acct for the late revolution but Every thing goes on as if no such thing had Ever bin, my Selfe & other principle men of the country are in the King's Councill.

"I have as yett done nothing with Mdm Rhett but shall begin now in a little time but I expect your answer whether you will sue her for the money due to you & the Interest or for the Land that she sold. The first will be ended here but the other I believe must go to England by appeal either from you or her, so that if you resolve to carry it to England you must have money there, & a friend to carry it on, which Every body tells me will be very chargeable, & hardly worth while, so pray let me know your resolution about the one or the other, I am very well satisfyed I may recover the money to your satisfaction but the other will be doubtful."

[XXXI.] "Boston, 17 Aug. 1721. To Ar: Middleton. . . . I am heartily glad to hear you are all so well contented with your new Gouvernor & everything to goe on so regularly, no doubt the King's takeing so much notice of the Country will be a great preservation of it in case of warr y^{t} I am of opinion you run little or no danger if there was a warr with ffrance & Spain w^{ch} is to be suspected will be when the Young King of ffrance comes to the throne. I heartily wish you joy of your being Presid^{t} of the Council & y^{e} great esteem y^{e} Gouv^{r} has for you of w^{ch} I am very well assured by several y^{t} comes from there. . . . Remember me kindly to Mr Howe & all the Gentlemen at Goosecreek &c wishing them joy of that their undertakings abt the Gouvernment there has succeeded to their desires & satisfaction."

It seemed now that the way was open for the lawsuit, but just at this time Mrs. Middleton fell ill, and her death in the autumn was so great a blow to her husband that he did not even write to her brother of it until the following March. "I have not for some months past," he then says,[129] "bin able to do anything in your affair with Mrs Rhett, by reason of the great disorder I have bin under for the loss of so good a wife but a few dayes since I spoke to Mr Trott of your affair & laid before him your demand on her of the Principle and Interest Money, not taking any Notice to him of your Suing for the land & he assured me that he would make her comply with your demand on her as above & we are to have a meeting to settle the acc^{t} of Principle & Interest as near as we can to Justice & reason, as soon as that is done I will send you an Ac^{t} of it and what It comes to & then I am in hopes that you will thinke it adviseable to Dropp the Suete at

Law against the Land, which I am sure will be very troublesome."

On this Thomas made the obvious remark: [XXXII.] "Mr Trott I do take to be Coll. Rhett's family's Particular friend & yrs & my Enemy for he never would be persuaded & y^t^ ffamily but y^t^ you were y^e^ only Pson y^t^ gott him out of his Place & rejoyced with hopes he expected on y^e^ Change of Government to revenge himself, & w^ch^ they would do if ever it lay in their power, w^ch^ you may depend he l never forgett if Ever it layes in his Power w^ch^ God forbid it should. And you 'l find w^t^ he is a contriving ab^t^ my affair is all together for Mad^m^ Rhett's Interest to putt off time expects things to change & she between whiles will putt off giving an Acc^t^ from year to year & goe on baffling without you sue her forthwith, therefore I humbly crave the favour of you to loose no further time . . . she is so deceitfull.

". . . Here annexed do send you y^e^ Boston News Paper of forreign & Domestick . . . this paper y^e^ best y^t^ now comes out, but if have a mind for any other be pleased to advise me."

An entry in his accounts at this time shows that he subscribed for the New England Courant,[130] lately begun by Benjamin Franklin's brother and master. Boston had only two other papers.

"So. Carolina. April ye 16. 1722.[131] [Endorsed:] recd the 22 May & answerd the 28 May.

Br: Amory

The last I wrote to you was by your Brother Homes In which I gave you an ac^t^ of y^e^ great loss and affliction I lay under for the loss of my dear wife your Sister: Since which

there is nothing new In my family; we are all in good health as I hope this will find you. The occasion of my writing this is that since the receipt of yours Capt Palmer, J. Rhett's Schooner, is arrived here & tells me that when he left Boston you told him that you would be in Carrolina In a very little time & that I might Expect you in this month of Aprill upon which I stopt proceeding with Mrs Rhett till I could hear further from you. I wish you could be here for three or four months in the summer to putt the wheels a going & then Every thing afterwards will be Easey therefore pray lett me know from you & your last Resolution about the land: Trott tells me he can bring her to reason & if we can gett what is your real due In Money I leve it to you to give me your last resolution but I wish you could be here for a little time, for to tell you y^e^ truth, Mess^rs^ Godin & Conseillère are of little or no help to me in your affair, Rhett being a Custom House officer they are in some fear of him, as one of them Hinted to me very lately, & I assure you that my own trouble & affliction in my family has hindered me very much but as soon as I hear from you I will do all I can. . . . Your two nephews Harry & Tom give their duty to you & their aunt. . . .

"Ar: Middleton"

[XXXIII.] "Boston May 28. 1722. To Arthur Middleton. . . . . favourd with your esteemed 16 Past, observing you put off going to Law. . . . expecting me there by w^t^ Capt Palmer told you. I cant but think it was Coll. Rhett's family advised him to tell you so for to stop your proceedings expectg change of Gouvernment as have hinted to you in my last. For I never did say a word to Capt Palmer about going to Carolina

to y^e^ contrary for my buisness wont pmitt me therefore do still continue to beg y^e^ favour of you to lose no farther time & begin the Lawsuit with her forthwith, especially y^t^ now Gov^r^ Nicholson is there whom has the character of a very honest Gentleman & will have justice done. Supposg she does offer you a satisfactory Acct w^th^ Interest & offers to pay y^e^ money without yr suing her first (w^ch^ I very much doubt for shel only give promises for delays of time) I say y^t^ if so you may receive the Money from her due to me but not for my Lands for . . . I will have a Lawsuit with her at Carolina for y^e^ Lands & according to y^e^ Lawyers opinions here shall carry it to Engld or take w^t^ they give me by Law there for we have very good Lawyers here to take advise of."

"I take notice," says Middleton in reply, July 26th,[132] "what you say to me about Mr Trott. I shall have nothing more to say to him & sett him at defyance."

Messrs. Godin and Co. write from Charleston, May 25th, 1722:[133] . . . "As to Mrs Rhett's affaire wee have drawne the acct of the £548: 17: 8¼ due to you upon Ballance to which have added the Interest from y^e^ 12^th^ April 1707 makes in y^e^ whole £1378 „ 6 „ 6 next week that Mr Allein our Lawyer comes to Towne shall commence a Suite against her at Common Law for y^t^ money & likewise endeavour in Chancery to gett allowance for the difference of the money if wee can succeed therein it will am^o^ to a considerable sum of money as may make amends for the Point they now live at w^ch^ you Lay claime. . . . As to disposeing of yo^r^ land for Boston Money believe 'tis difficult, wee might gett a better price to sell here. . . . As to the uncertainty of the value of our money 'tis likely to grow better rather than worse."

Towards the end of 1722 Colonel Rhett died suddenly when on the point of leaving Carolina to be Governor of the Bahamas. I am unable to verify what seems to be the tradition at Charleston,[134] that Thomas Amory's case came after this to be tried by Judge Trott, was decided against the plaintiff, and thereupon carried before the higher court in England, which annulled the decision on the ground that the Judge when he gave it was engaged to the defendant and had since married her. These particulars cannot be proved from the letter-books, where by June, 1723, Thomas Amory sends a discharge to Mrs. Rhett "on all Demands w^t^soever." A few months later [XXXIV.] he says: "I perceive by Mad^m^ Rhett's Acct. she dont credit me for a Silk Gownd, Pettycoat and Stomager I sent to her for my Acct from ffayal w^ch^ she acknowledged to receive, desireing you will gett payment of her if you can." He had at any rate recovered a good number of town-lots in Charleston, which he sells in turn at prices more or less satisfactory, as the state of the currency allows.

This currency question was a real danger to South Carolina and made Mr. Middleton's position a difficult one. As President of the Council, Middleton was practically Governor for five or six years, for Sir Francis Nicholson went home after a year, and his successor did not arrive in the colony until 1730. Nicholson had been lavish of his private funds in aid of public objects. Mr. Middleton was said to show less generosity, but the worse offence seems to have been his anxiety to fulfil, as he understood them, those duties towards the Crown which, under his own guidance, the colony had chosen to adopt. Colonel Rhett, who is said to have remarked in 1719: "If this revolt is not cropt in the bud they will set up for

themselves against the King"—had perhaps understood the drift of the revolution better than its leader. The colonists had practical ends to serve with which a spirit of abstract loyalty was not always at one. Middleton and his Council opposed, on the ground that it contravened an Act of Queen Anne's reign, the Assembly's bill to promote a currency of gold and silver. The Assembly refused to vote the supply unless this veto was withdrawn. Middleton maintained his ground and the people theirs through six prorogations and six elections, the bill coming up to be rejected by the Council eight times. Governor Johnson in 1730 found the two parties equally unconquered, and everything blocked so that no laws had been enacted for three years. Nicholson's impression had been that the spirit of commonwealth principles was increasing daily in the colony, influenced by the New Englanders, and also by insinuations industriously made by the late Mr. Rhett and Mr. Trott of the probability of the Lords Proprietors resuming the government.

CHAPTER VIII.

Boston, 1720—1743.

[XXXV.]

ON his return from Carolina in 1720 Amory had "made a trip to Rhode Island, New York and Pensilvania. . . . As to those Parts they are fine Countrys but not comparable to Boston for trade so that I do resolve to continue and settle my Self here likeing this Place very well." . . . [XXXVI.] "Car il est certain," he informs a French correspondent, "que Celle est une très Jollie Place et de Beau Monde," and he thereupon writes out an "Inventory of Merchandize & Debts or Stock belonging to Thomas Amory late of Terceira settled this fifteen day of October by the Grace of God at Boston New England, Anno Domini 1720."[135]

[XXXVII.] "To Mr John Amory at Taunton in Somersetshire p. Captn Barlow.

Boston ys 11 9ber 1720.

Sr

Never meeting in my life time except my Relations any of my Name before the other day yt I was in company with your Son Mr Simon Amory also Mr Emmons Wife but

they not being able to give me an Acc^{t} whether we are related make bold to desire a Line from you w^{t} you know of my ffamily and if we are related by the Information I give you.

My Fathers Name was Jonathan Amory, he was a Merch^{t} at South Carolina and dyed ab^{t} 20 years agoe he was born at Bristol & I suppose my Grant Fathers Name was Thomas Amory whom lived at Bristol. I had several Uncles, one John Amory whom lives in Gallwey in Ireld. One Robert Amory y^{t} was a Merch^{t} at Antigua he is dead. And I have a first cousin a Counsellor of the Middle Temple in London whom is now at Lymerick his name is Thomas Amory son of my Eldest Uncle named Thomas Amory for my ffather was the youngest of all his Brothers. My Cousin Thomas having a small Estate at Bristol now whom I lived with in London several years & served seven years to a ffrench Merch^{t} there Mr Nicholas Oursel before I was out of my time was sent factor to Terceira one of the Azore Isld belonging to the Portuguese where I lived thirteen years and last June was twelve month come to this place & went to So. Carolina where I have a small Estate thinking to have settled there where I have a sister Marryed to Mr Arthur Middleton one of the richest Men of the place, but finding So. Carolina sickly did not like living there and after seeing Philidelphia, New York & Rhode Isld have resolved to continue and settle here for it is equal to me where I move my Effects but finds this a Place of great Trade much beyond any Place on the Contin^{t} I shall be glad to be favourd wth yours in answer to this and if can render you or ffriends any Service shall be proud of your commands for the Name sake wishing you all health & happiness I am with all due Reguard——"

There is nothing to show that this letter was answered or even received, and its question is still without reply. Mr. Simon Amory, whose brother's great-grandson is Sir John Heathcoat Amory, M.P., is not mentioned again in the letter-books. The baronet's father, Mr. Samuel Amory, was in correspondence with Mr. T. C. Amory and others of our family from about 1840. He was unable to trace his line farther back than this John Amory of Taunton, but his pedigree at the College of Arms has at John's name the note "Supposed to be of Barnstable, Devon."

A few days before his visit to Carolina Thomas had entered in his accounts £2, "depence to Mrs Holmes."[136] Mrs. Francis Holmes in the absence of her husband, the industrious trader and ship-owner whose letter from Charleston we read above, managed the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern, where new Governors and all distinguished visitors to Boston were always entertained. Her grandfather, Arthur Mackworth, owner of Mackworth's Point and an island near it at Casco, Maine, had married the widow of Samuel Andrews, a London merchant. Their daughter, Rebecca Mackworth, was married at Boston, in 1658, to Nathaniel Wharfe of Casco or of Gloucester; and her daughter, Rebecca Wharfe, was married likewise at Boston, February 15th, 1693, to Francis Holmes, whose origin is unknown. A map of Boston in 1714 gives Captain Holmes's Wharf. "F. L. G." writes in the "Boston Transcript," May 12th, 1894, of "the tavern which formed the northeast corner of King Street and Mackrill Lane . . . sold on certain conditions, Sept. 21, 1722 to Francis Holmes by Abiezer Holbrook. . . . Francis Holmes, the first keeper of the tavern was . . . living in precinct 5 in 1695 and filled two minor

town offices in 1699 and 1701. Before keeping the Bunch of Grapes he is often referred to in Sewall's Diary as an innholder. Nov. 8. 1706 'Deputies treat the Govr. at Homes's.' He was then probably dispensing good cheer at the Blue Anchor, a tavern long celebrated in the colonial days. This inference is based on a comparison of Whitmore's notes to John Dunton's Letters with an entry in the selectmen's records, Feb. 7, 1709. [In Mr. T. C. Amory's collection of family papers is a parchment deed of sale of the Blue Anchor Tavern, in the street leading to Roxbury, from Elizabeth Monck, widow of George Monke, to James Pitts, mariner, August 21st, 1703.] Sewall says June 17, 1709, 'I treat the Govr. at Homes's: had two dishes of green pease: Sir Charles Hobbey, Mr Commissary, Mr Leverett, Lt. Coll. Ballentine, Mr Pemberton, Major Pigeon, Capt. of the Matroses, eleven in all: paid 36*s*.' He was allowed £8 by the selectmen, Feb. 4, 1711-12 'in consideration of a house of his in King Street being pulled down in order to put a stop to the fire on the second of Octor. last.' The Bunch of Grapes was probably established as an inn about this time. Feb. 6, 1711-12 'Two legs broken in town this day, Frank Homes, by his horse falling on him' etc. says Sewall. For some reason objection was made to the renewal of his licence as an innholder in 1713 but was withdrawn. He remained actively at the head of the tavern until 1721, spending much of his time after that date in South Carolina looking after his property there. His will was proved in Charleston S. C. June 9, 1726. Besides land in Charleston, he owned a plantation of 500 acres called Beach Hill and another of eighty acres on James Island. His sloop named the 'Bumper'

is disposed of in his will. He was married to Rebecca Wharfe . . . by Rev. Cotton Mather. He joined the Brattle Street Church Nov. 3. 1706. Of his twelve children two daughters may be mentioned, Rebecca, who subsequently owned the tavern property, and Anne who married William Coffin, the third innkeeper. Rebecca, baptized Dec. 22. 1700 married Thomas Amory May 9, 1721. . . . Rebecca Holmes succeeded her husband . . . and was 'approved for innholder' July 18. 1726. Administration on her estate was granted Feb. 16. 1730-1. . . . Ebenezer Holmes, one of the administrators, charges himself with 'Received for rent of William Coffin for the Bunch of Grapes £337.' . . . William Coffin, the third keeper of the Bunch of Grapes, was the son of Nathaniel and Damaris (Gayer) Coffin of Nantucket. He was born Dec. 1, 1699, and married Anne Holmes Sept. 3, 1722. He took charge of the tavern on the death of his mother-in-law. April 21, 1731, 'Upon the petition of William Coffin for a License to be an Innholder in the House called the Bunch of Grapes in King Street. His Petition to the General Court and their answer to it. The Selectmen have Considered them, And they do approve of and recommend the Said William Coffin to be a Person of Sober Conversation suitably accommodated and Provided for the Exercise of Such an Imployment.' In Judge Benjamin Lynde's diary are frequent references to the tavern. 'Aug. 15, 1732. I put our Courts Club, 4 of us at Coffin's, to my account.' Coffin kept the tavern two years or more. He was an officer of Trinity Church and became a merchant of note. He died in 1775. He was the grandfather of General John Coffin, Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart., and Sir Thomas Aston Coffin, Bart."

Several of Holmes's sons were merchants at Charleston; one went to sea and had a sloop of his own; Eben, who stayed in Boston, seems to have been the only one for whom Harvard was thought possible. "Dear Beckee," their father writes[137] to his eldest daughter in 1720, "Bee sure asist your mothar . . . & exhoart your Brothers & sisters to diligenc & if Eben goes to Colledg I Hope the Lord will give him Grace to Improve so greatt a fafour as Larning." Beckee's brothers write to her "by every opportunity" with such expressions as "Ever Loving Sister," and "This will kiss your dear hands," etc. She closes a note to one of them, younger than herself, with "Love and sarvis to you, your Loveing sister Rebekah Holmes."

[XXXVIII.] Thomas Amory wrote to her father, February 9th, 1720-1:

"Sir

"Please God you'l receive this under couvert Mad^{m} Holmes Letter for since that I have seen the Continent all along to Philadelphia do find Boston to be the best place for me to settle at, likeing it extraordinary well so have resolved to sett down & settle here the next business in hand was to look out for an help Mate and by the frequent conversation with your beloved Daughter Mrs Rebecca whom I find to answer the General Character the World gives of her, to be a most Discreet Virtuous good-humoured Young Woman & has all the Good Qualities y^{t} can be expressed for a Man to be happy with her, Wherefore we have the consent of your beloved Spouse, only waiting now y^{e} first Opportunity y^{e} same from your good Self, with your advice & blessing for the

Continuance of our happiness being most affectionate to you & yours reff'ng to Mad^m^ Holmes further thereon and am with best Respects y^r^ assured & obed^t^ hble Servant."

[XXXIX.] . . . "If it was not for Mad^m^ Rhett's letter to me I recd at Terceira," he writes a month later to Bunratty, "I should not have left y^t^ Place so soon by Two Years, being as y^t^ I was the English & Dutch Consul was in the Way of getting of Money w^ch^ has been a great loss to me, there being no remedy but Patience, taking all things thank God for the best. . . . finding this y^e^ best Place for trade &c much beyond any of the other places on the English Contin^t^ have resolved to settle here Please God for my life expecting to be marryed within this 6 mos. to a young Woman of about 20 years of Age with whom I doubt not but to be very happy she having all the good Qualities to make a good Wife, being very Virtuous & Discreet & good humoured. As to her fortune it is but £500 y^s^ money w^ch^ is what they give generally with their daughters, her father being very well to pass in the world haveing several children. W^t^ I look upon is her good Qualities, hopeing with the blessing of God & our Endeavours to rubb through the world as well as we can with the little we have, humbly desiring the Continuance of your affection & blessing for us."

[XL.] To his father-in-law he says, June 9th, 1721 : "As to my Marriage it was y^e^ 9^th^ Past; this week we are gott to housekeeping as New Beginners, living in one of the houses belonging to Mr. Lendal." [Mr. T. C. Amory understood this to mean Lindal's Row in Quaker Lane, now Congress Street. If I am not mistaken, the "Bunch of Grapes" was on

the site of Brazer's Building "just below the Town House."] "Our concern is to gett a good Servt or a good black house maid for a good Servt is scarce to be had here. If lie in your way be pleased not to loose the opportunity of buying a good black Maid. Rebecca remembers her duty to yo doubting not in the least please God we shall be very happy & contented together, finding her very good humoured."

The following record from which I have already quoted is in the possession of a great-great-granddaughter :[39]

"I, Thomas Amory, son of Jonathan Amory and Rebeckah Amory, was born in Dublin in May 1682 and was christened at Christ Church. [See above, page 27.] My Cousin Thomas Amory my Godfather.

"My wife Rebeckah Holmes, now Amory, was born the 18th December 1701.

"I was married to my wife Rebeckah the 9th of May 1721, by the Rev'd Mr Benj. Coleman.

"My son, Thomas Amory, was born the 23rd April, 1722, 35 minutes after three in the afternoon. Godfathers my cousin Thos. Amory, Mr Thos. Lemere stand for him, Mr Job Lewis. G. mother Mad'm Loyd.

"My daughter Mary Amory was born the 9th December 1723, 35 minutes after two in the afternoon, G.father Mr James Smith, God-mother Madam Luce and Mad'm. Guerrish.

"My daughter Rebeckah Amory was born the 12th day of June, 1725, 3 quarters of an hour after 12 in the morning. God-father Mr. John Barnes, Godmother Mad'm Miles and Mad'm Smith.

"My son Jonathan Amory was born the 19th day of

December about half an hour after 8 in the morning, on a Monday 1726. Godfathers Mr. Joshua Were and Mr William Coffin. God-mother Mad'm Barnes."

Another son, not in the record, was born in August, 1728, and named John.

[XLI.] In October, 1721, Thomas writes: "We are very dull at Boston by Reason of the Contageous Distemper of Small Pox" . . . "ffor some months Past we have had the Small Pox very Grievous in Boston, some thousands have had it, & People falling down daily sick of it—Several People have dyed of it at Present in my ffather's family 5 has it on the recovery, the youngest daughter of ab^{t} 8 years dyed yesterday of it & there are very few families y^{t} some Body or other dont dye out of it. . . . Since my preceding lines dyed one more of the ffamily, Nathaniel Holmes of 17 years old whom was Prentice to a Merch^{t}." It was in this year that Dr. Boylston, encouraged by the Rev. Cotton Mather, ventured to begin inoculation. Isaac Holmes writes from Charleston in 1730 to his sister, Mrs. Amory, "I am Inform'd your Chilldren are to be Inoculated I pray god to preserve them and to work the Cure for them—its a practice I much aprove of. I hope tho the small pox spread it will not prove mortal amongst you."

[XLII.] By the autumn of 1721, Thomas "would fain purchase a small matter of land here to improve, this being a very thriving Country & a Man's Estate secure." A map of Boston,[127] made in 1722, shows "Amory's Wharf and Still-house" at the corner of Orange (now Washington) and Castle Streets. [XLIII.] "In 1722," he afterwards writes to Oursel,

"I bought me a P^s^ of Land at y^e^ So. End of Boston, where I built a Wharf for Lumber &c, of about 300 ft, a Dwelling-house & a Still house y^t^ I make ab^t^ 3 hhds of Rhum a week w^th^ my own Slaves as also do distill Turpentine upon my Wharf. Last year I moved there and y^s^ year have begun to keep a Shop & Warehouses where I sell by Wholesale & Retaill West Indian and European goods being Convenient for the Country People that thanks be to God have accomplished my affairs that being managed by my family there [*i.e.*, in Carolina]. I deal little to sea & for my Own Part do keep Warehouse by the Long Wharfe very convenient for trade, & do sell by wholesale European & W. India Goods, further a pretty deal of Commissions from North & South Carolina but little from Europe w^ch^ I should esteem very much . . . would easily advance 5 or 600 Pounds on good European goods. . . . Most hble respects to Madam Oursel & Godson & the two young Ladies."

[XLIV.] "Boston 3^rd^ December 1722 To Edward Moseley.

"I find you design to consign me more Wheat & some Tarr . . . & of y^e^ Produce to buy yo a Man Slave ab^t^ 20 to 25 years old. I have given out y^t^ I want one & shall putt it in the N. Paper if none offers shortly . . . here it is rare to find one for less than 60 to 70£ p. head without he has been a serv^t^ y^t^ has disobliged his Master by steeling &c., & then to have em off will sell em at abt 50 to 60 a head at y^e^ time I recd y^e^ £50 from Coll Townsend there was a brave fellow to be sold w^ch^ I was to have had for £50 provided I had shipt him off whom was thievish in y^e^ family but reckon it is y^e^ same at your place as at So Carolina y^e^ Negroes cau[gh]t easily

& do hardly steal being they are well chastised & there are no receipts. As soon as I can buy a good Slave shall ship him to you."

[XLV.] "Boston, December 29th 1722. To Francis Holmes, senior.

"We have nothing a New. The Town talk is most now upon Acct of his Excellency ye Govr Shute being aboard of Capt Durrel with whom they say designs for Antigua from there for London. Others that from ye Man of Warr designs to goe aboard Capt Clark from London be it as it will be he has layd abord three nights & nobody knew of his design or Embarqueing & since he was abord he has writt to ye Council yt he designed for London they say is very much displeased with the Assembly & several of the Council."

Beside the correspondence with merchants in Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, both Carolinas, the Azores, Ireland, and England, the books show a regular interchange of letters with Bunratty, John Amory of Galway and the Ramseys.

[XLVI.] In a letter to James Ramsey are the words, "I am sorry for my Brother David's illness,"—one of several allusions to "my Brother David," by Thomas and Ann alike, whence arose the myth that Jonathan Amory of South Carolina had a son David. We now know that he had not, but that his first wife, by her Houston marriage, had. "Brother David is dead about Twelve months ago," Ann Ramsey writes from Lazyhill, August 5th, 1728. The parish register shows the burial of David Houston, June 30th, 1727. Neither had Jonathan the son Isaac who appears with his wife Charity and

daughter Ann Edolls, etc., in some of our lately-written genealogies. These names belong to a family at Whitchurch, Somerset (Collinson's "History of Somersetshire," vol. ii., p. 444), who spelt the surname Emery, but whom (finding "Whitchurch" jotted down in one of Thomas of Boston's books) Mr. T. C. Amory took into an hypothesis which he formed to account for a story which is still unexplained. Dr. Joseph Johnson ("Traditions of the Revolution," 1851) was great-grandson of a Mrs. Amory who came from England to Charleston about 1750, and the story says asserted her children's right to the property of Jonathan Amory the Treasurer. The tradition ignores that the estate had been fought over and settled with all possible publicity a quarter of a century before, and that no new claim could have arisen since. Dr. Johnson imagined that Mrs. Amory was a second wife of Thomas of Boston, but learning, after his book was published, that this was not the case, he accepted the suggestion that she might have been the wife of a brother left in Ireland when Thomas was taken to Carolina. One theory was that David was this brother; another theory added a second brother, Isaac, possibly afterwards of Whitchurch, because Mrs. Amory's only son was Isaac, the Rev. Isaac Amory (see Dalcho, "History of the Church in South Carolina," 1820, p. 361). But there were no such brothers, the Whitchurch family's dates do not fit the Rev. Isaac Amory's career, and neither they nor he—which last fact one regrets—have any place in the present history.

"Dear Brother," Ann Ramsey requests[138] of Thomas in 1722, "when you write next give me y^e^ account of Carrolina —whether it be as formerly, when we were there. I sopos it might be much improved as most places is. I confess I

think much of that Country of late. . . . Let me know how my sister Mrs Midleton is & how meny children she has, & whether Madam Quarey be living, y^e^ Gentlewoman we came with from Carolina." Thomas had written [XLVII.] nearly a year before to his uncle: "My dear sister Middleton is dead I have^s^ lost a dear ffriend. God prepare us all for a future State this being uncertain & short."

A grandson of Ann (Amory) Chappell, named Alan Mullin, brought a letter to Thomas from his uncle John, on whose recommendation [XLVIII.], Thomas writes, "[I] do sett up Mr Mullen in a country town called Providence to follow his calling of Chirurgery & Apothecary, where he may do very well if he minds his business." . . .

[XLIX.] "Mr Allen Mullin has given me," he tells his uncle, "an Acct of my Relations of whom I knew nothing before, & Particularly of the Splendor my Cousin Thomas lives in being heartily rejoyced with it wishing him long life & health to enjoy it . . . knowing no affec^t^ Relationships besides himself Particularly when was with him w^ch^ I continually remember, for never was with any Relation since but as yo know among Strangers w^ch^ has often made me thoughtfull." [L.] To Bunratty he says, May 27th, 1722: "The 29^th^ Past my Son was christened Thomas, and I gott Thomas Lechmere Esq brother to my Lord Lechmere to stand Godffather for you . . . humbly desireing you'll excuse my boldness in naming of you without orders, hoping you'l accept of y^r^ Little Serv^t^ whom grows thanks be to God a mighty fine child." Bunratty had already written—though the letter had not arrived—to acknowledge the "news of yr having a son w^ch^ I am very glad to hear. My service to my

new Cousin" [Rebecca.] Thomas had counted on his aid in London if the Charleston case should be appealed, but Bunratty [138b] explained, June 21, 1722, that it did not "lye in my way to asist you in it at present, having quitted London and all sorts of business to live retired in y^e^ Countrey. I find you have been misinformed as to my circumstances here, the Estate that I am concerned in was purchased subject to great incumbrances besides w^ch^ I have some of Uncle Robert's to answer to this day. . . . What you have done for your Brother Ramsey I know not, he has been so friendly to you that I cannot but wish to hear you have done him Justice and the like as to yr Mother's Brother (Geo. Houston) [probably a slip for *your Mother's son, David Houston*] as far as you have any Effects of yr ffathers to answer it. Excuse the shortness of my Letter for I write in pain. Yr Affe. Cousin & serv^t^.

"Thos. Amory."

It was not Thomas's fault, but the result, no doubt, of Mr. Middleton's absorption in state affairs in Carolina, that the Ramseys had to wait five years for the deed of "one quarter of a house at Bristol," which was Ann's, and which Thomas had rescued with the rest of his father's papers. He had left it at Goosecreek for safe keeping, and when he sent for it Mr. Middleton delayed to look it out and despatch it until Thomas [LI], having urged him in vain, asked the younger Francis Holmes, living at Charleston, to speak: "I desire y^t^ no further time be lost . . . its not a quarter of an hour's looking among y^e^ Papers for I showed y^m^ to Mr. Middleton myself; & present my best respects to his lady"—Mr. Middleton's second marriage having lately taken place.

[LII.] "Boston May 7th 1726. To Thomas Amory Esq.

". . . My son grows a very sensible & beautiful Child, as also my two Girls Mary & Rebeckah, thanks be to God."

[LIII.] "May 10th 1726. To John Amory.

". . . I recd a Letter from our Relation Mrs Mary Clerke adviseing me the Death of her husband & yt she had Letters from Ireld. yt my Cousin Thomas Amory had sold Bunratty to Mr. Studdert for Three Thousand Pounds, yt Mr. Allin [Mullin] was marryed at New London in these Parts; he has not writt to me. . . ."

Mrs. Clark was a daughter of his aunt Hoskins. Alan Mullin had told him of her being at Antigua, and he occasionally wrote to her. [LIV.] "I observe wt you write," he tells her in 1726, "concerning my Cousin & yr Advice to me to goe over to Ireland. I had letters from my Cousin dated ye 19 8ber last, & another from my Uncle John. . . . They write affectionately to me, but dont write me a word of Bunratty, nor ffamily, nor of going over there nor anything abt his making his Will, & as yt I am settled here with my ffamily it must be some certain encouragement before to leave my buisness."

The last date in the Letter Books is May 7th, 1728. His wife's account[79] of his death is taken from an undated copy, where her spelling has been modernized:

"Mr. Thomas Amory died June 20th, 1728, at five o'clock in the morning, by a very sad accident. Going into the still-house to look after some necessary affair fell into a cistern of returns. There being nobody therein there [died] as was the

sovereign will of God, and I must submit, though the loss & aggravating circumstances are beyond expression. Nothing but infinite power & mercy can sustain me under the weight of it.

"He was born in Limerick in Ireland, son of Jonathan & Rebecca Amory.

"His mother died at Barbadoes when he was so young as not to remember anything of her, after which his father removed to South Carolina, there married, had some more children, sent him to London for schooling at [blank]teen years old, where served his time to Mr. Osell merchant, his father dying about the time of his going to prentice, his master sent him to Terceira on his business where he continued fourteen or fifteen years, only a voyage or two, & was well-respected & several years was English & French Consul which he resigned about the year 1718, came to Boston in his way to South Carolina in order to settle his father's estate which by fraud was to much damage, his relations being all dead but one half-sister y^{n} married to Mr. Middleton & is since dead, & after having been to Rhode Island, York & Philadelphia came to Boston and by God's Providence was married to me in May 1721, have had four children, Thomas, Mary, Rebecca & Jonathan. Was much loved by all that knew him, being very ready & capable."

"S. Carolina, July 29. 1728." [Isaac Holmes to Mrs. Holmes, and Mrs. Amory.[139]]

"Honourd Mother

"Mad^{m}

"This . . . to condole with you and our family in the great Loss of our Bro Amory and beg the Lord to sanctify

to us all his untimely End. we have only Lost a freind but my Poor Sister a Kind Husband and her Children a tender father. . . .

"My love to my Sister Coffin and bro. Will^m."

"DEAR SISTER AMORY

". . . last week we recd the maloncolly acct of your misfortunes in the Loss of your Husband. I beg God of his infinite mercy to support you under your aflictions and prepare us all for so great a change. I heartyly condole your Loss. I hope God will be pleased to carry you through all your troubles. . . . I here make you all the offers of Service in my Power at so great a distance and wish I could be with you to help you tho I hope you'l find many abler friends. . . ."

Rebecca was appointed guardian of the children and administratrix of the property. To collect the debts and settle accounts was impossible but by continuing to trade, and for nearly fifteen years she seems to have carried on something of her husband's importing business and supervised the management of the still-house and wharf. Mr. T. C. Amory gives the Inventory[140] in 1728 as amounting to £2,610, with debts of over £11,000, and credits over £16,000. Rebecca's final account[141] when her eldest son came of age shows that the balance of nearly £5,000 had then been secured. The value of these sums is vague, owing to the condition at that time of the Provincial currency.

During the summer of 1728 three letters for Thomas Amory arrived from Ireland, written by John Amory,[142] Ann Ramsey, and Mrs. Amory of Bunratty. They announced that

ten days after our ancestor died at Boston, his cousin, Thomas Amory, had died at Bunratty, leaving him £100, with the right of redemption of the mortgaged lands at Brislington and the reversion of the rest of his estate in case the two persons to whom it was first bequeathed should die without issue male. These two persons were a son and daughter of Bunratty's who were without legal right to his name except such as he conferred upon them by special provision in his will. The son, called Thomas Amory of Rathlahine, had, two years before, married Elizabeth Vandaleur, whose father, the Rev. John Vandaleur, held a living near Bunratty. The daughter, Lucy, was the wife of one of the McMahons of the county Clare. In order to leave all his Irish property as he wished, Bunratty had been obliged to free the lands in Kerry from the entail created by his father's will. Thomas of Boston had probably never heard of this entail, and neither he nor his uncle John, who with him would have benefited by it, seems to have been told when it was cut off, as in due legal form it was[143] about the year 1726. John and the other relations in Ireland had not forgotten its existence; they supposed that it was in force, and they had also an idea that the lands in Clare which had belonged to Robert Amory were under a similar restriction. Robert's will, made at Antigua, certainly had left the bulk of his estate, real & personal, to Thomas of Bunratty, with the provision that if the latter died without lawful heirs, it should pass to his cousin, Thomas of Boston. But after the date of that will, Robert had sold the estate to which it referred and had invested in the Clare lands; it is possible that such a change would invalidate the Antigua will. It may be remembered that this will was not discovered until after Thomas of

Bunratty had entered into possession of the property as Robert's heir-at-law; but when it came to light in 1712 it was regularly recorded at Dublin. If then it would have been in force at the time of the discussion after Bunratty's death, why did no one appeal to it? That Bunratty had expected some discontent with what he was doing is shown by a clause in his will directing that any legatee who disputed it should thereby forfeit his legacy. To his uncle, John Amory—"on his giving to my executors a full . . . [word omitted in copy] of all demands and pretences whatsoever to any share of the real or personal estate left by my father or my uncle Robert Amory"—he bequeathed fifty pounds sterling a year during his natural life, and also the sum of £100 "over and above what he has already had . . . from me, and without any detention for what remained due from him to my Uncle Robert Amory deceased or to me as his executor." The value of the whole estate is so variously reported that no estimate is possible. The highest amount named is £8,000 a year. It still included Garryard and other lands in Kerry. Minor legacies were to "my sister O'Connor, my cousins Jane Bew and her son Thomas, Elizabeth Clark, Samuel Coynes, and Ann Thompson *als* Creagh."

The relations in Ireland chose to resent this will as an injustice to Thomas of Boston, and their letters before they received the news of his death made Rebecca feel that duty to her young son demanded of her an effort to recover the estate for him as his father's right. With the aid of Mr. Robert Auchmuty, who had been her husband's lawyer, she wasted time and trouble,[144] until John Amory, whose opinion had first misled her, changed his mind and repeatedly assured her

that there was no case at all. Then she applied for what the will gave her, but, as the five years' correspondence on this subject shows, without success. Her anxiety at last was to have documentary proof for her children that she had done her best. She employed agents to inquire into the Brislington mortgage and had discouraging reports, receiving also a long and courteous letter[145] on the subject from Thomas Amory of Rathlahine. The mortgagee's descendants had refused to come to any account unless a sum of over £2,000 should be first paid into Chancery where the whole case would have to be tried at indefinite expense. Rebecca naturally abandoned the idea. Of the £100 legacy in Bunratty's will Thomas of Rathlahine wrote: "I cannot venture to pay it to your order for many reasons too tedious to be here mencōned & . . . as my Estate is security for it, it is y^e^ properest way to let it lie in my hands till I can safely pay it; or if you think not so, I shall be oblig'd to pay it in to the Exchequer which will be much to y^e^ disadvantage of y^e^ Minor."

Among the letters to Thomas of Boston which his widow received and answered were two from Julia O'Connor.[146] She introduced herself as "sister to your cousin Thomas Amory lately deceased by the mother's side and tho' I am not related to you yet as I knew your father very well and once saw you here in 1699. . . . I should be very glad you possessed the estate," etc., etc. ". . . . I shall only mind you how I came to see you here in the year 1699. It was by means of my brother sending you with a letter to me to my lodgings in Pall Mall Street & you may remember I told you then you were like your father." Enclosing a copy of Thomas of Galy's will,[67] she explained that it had been made for her uncle,

Raymond Fitzmaurice, whose estate her late husband had administered, and that she had brought it with her from Ireland by mistake among other parchments. In her second letter,[147] dated Bristol, May 15th, 1731, she says: "I have some papers in my hand w^ch^ cou'd give you light into w^t^ is your right in the County of Kerry whither I am bound soon from this place where I have been about a fortnight & have been making Enquiry (of some of yr. relations the Emorys for so they write their name) about y^r^ Estate here in Somersetshire, and they tell me it is in a very good condition . . . so that I hope either this or the other Estate will induce you to come over more among yr. ffrds in old England and Ireland." . . .

The latest evidence of intercourse between Thomas Amory's family in New England and his relations in the Old World is a letter to Rebecca from Ann Ramsey in 1734.[148] It contains thanks for a small gold ring, and asks if Thomas and Rebecca ever received "a fine gilt Sacrament book, a silk girdle, a silk trap [?]-bag" etc, which "I sent some years ago in my brother's time." "All the Enquiry was in my power" has failed to find Mrs. Julia O'Connor.

Thomas of Rathlahine wrote[150] "The Life of John Buncle Esq, containing various Observations and Reflections made in several Parts of the World and many extraordinary Relations." The first volume appeared in 1756, the rest ten years later. "The Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson" (London, 1869, 3 vols., vol. i., p. 425-426) notices it as follows:

"January 2nd, 1814.—Read lately the first volume of 'John Buncle.' It contains but little that is readable but that

little is very pleasing. The preachments are to be skipped over, but the hearty descriptions of character are very interesting from the *love* with which they are penned. Lamb says, with his usual felicity, that the book is written *in better spirits* than any book he knows. Amory's descriptions are in a high style ; his scene-painting is of the first order ; and it is the whimsical mixture of romantic scenery, millennium-hall society, and dry disputation in a quaint style which gives this book so strange and amusing a character. For instance, John Buncle meets a lady in a sort of Rosamond's bower studying Hebrew. He is smitten with her charms, declares his love to 'glorious Miss Noel,' and when, on account of so slight an acquaintance—that of an hour—she repels him (for his love had been kindled only by a desperately learned speech of hers on the paradisiacal language) and threatens to leave him, he exclaims, 'Oh, I should die were you to leave me ; therefore, if you please, we will discourse of the miracle of Babel.' And then follows a long dialogue on the confusion of tongues, in which 'illustrious Miss Noel' bears a distinguished part."

"The European Magazine" for 1789 mentions another of Thomas Amory's novels—"Lives of Several Ladies of Great Britain"—with the remark that these ladies "are not only beautiful, learned, ingenious and religious, but they are all zealous Unitarians in a very high degree as is the Author himself." The author, from about 1737, lived chiefly in London, moving thence towards the end of his life to Wakefield, where his only son Robert had been practising medicine for over thirty years. Robert's three sons[151] had commissions, one in the navy and two in the army. The eldest son was crippled by wounds received in action under Admiral Rodney.

CHAPTER IX.

Boston, 1726—1765.

THE young Thomas Amory of Boston, for whom his father was paying "Schoolmaster fines" by 1726, entered the Latin School in 1735, and Harvard two years later.[152] After his graduation in 1741 he studied Theology and, Mr. T. C. Amory says, would have taken orders in the Church but that his mother needed his presence and help. He is described in a deed[153] in 1769 as "Thomas Amory, Gentleman;" in 1772, as "Distiller;" at other times, as "Merchant." The house, distill-house, stores and wharf at the east end of Castle Street were in his share of his father's property. After his mother's death (she died in 1770) he bought Governor Belcher's house at the corner of Orange and Hollis Streets, the land measuring 40 × 102 feet. It was along Orange Street and the rest of what we call Washington Street, that he and his two brothers were accustomed to take with great regularity their afternoon walk together, earning the nickname of "The Three Cocked Hats." Thomas married when he was forty-two his cousin, Elizabeth Coffin, aged twenty-three, daughter of his mother's sister, Ann Holmes, and of William Coffin, sea-captain, mer-

chant, distiller, vestryman of Trinity Church, native of Nantucket, son of Nathaniel Coffin and his wife, the beautiful Quaker preacher Damaris Gayer, and great-grandson of Tristram Coffin, emigrant from Devonshire in 1642. Elizabeth Coffin was the tenth of the thirteen children of William and Anne; her elder brothers "Billey," "Nath," and John Coffin,[154] were about the ages of the three Amorys.

Jonathan and John Amory were in partnership together[155] by 1757, as importers of dry goods, "at the Sign of the Horse at the Head of Dock Square." In this year John married Katherine, daughter of Rufus Greene, great-grandson of John Greene, who came to New England from Salisbury, and was associated with Roger Williams in the Providence Purchase in 1638. A brother of Rufus was Thomas Greene, who made the Greene Foundation at Trinity Church, Boston; and another brother, Benjamin, was grandfather of the two sisters who married Charles Amory and James Sullivan Amory, grandsons of Thomas Amory and his wife Elizabeth Coffin.

Thomas's brother Jonathan and his two sisters also married. Jonathan's wife was Abigail Taylor; Mary's husband, Timothy Newell, merchant, a deacon of Brattle Street Church; neither pair had children. Rebecca married Edward Payne, and had a son and three daughters—her line died out by 1840. John had at least seven sons and four daughters, and Thomas five sons and four daughters. It was said that as the Revolution drew near Thomas and John planned to withdraw to England, leaving in the care of the childless Jonathan their combined families to the number of twenty-three. Perhaps this included the Paynes.

Jonathan had been in Europe as a young man, probably

making arrangements for trade: the following undated memorandum[156] was evidently written for him by his elder brother:

"To Enquire of Mr Patrick Woodside (Instrument Maker on Austin Key, Dublin, near the Philadelphia and New York Arms) what foundation he had for enquiring of Capt. Ellis Compton whether he knew the Family of the Amorys in Boston, & for telling him that there was an Estate fell to them in Ireland & saying that it was a pitty but they should know it—if Mr Woodside will acquaint you what he knows in relation the Family will esteem it a very great obligation."

There is also a letter[157] "to Tho. Spaight Esq. in Co. of Clare, Irland.—sent by Bro. Jon[a].—Copy:

"Sr.

"There was a Settlement of Land in Irland made by Tho. Amory Esq to you & Tho. Purdon Esq in Trust for his Son Tho. Amory & his Daughter Lucy with Proviso that in case either of them dyd without Issue their part should descend to Tho. Amory of Boston and his Heirs male. I am the Eldest Son of Tho. Amory dec[d].

"Now I am to beg the favour of a Line from you to inform me the State of the Family & also with a Copy of the Settlement, not doubting but your regard to your Friend who made the Settlement as well as to Justice induces you to be willing to discharge the Trust according to the Settlement.

"This waits on you by the hand of my next Brother bound to Europe & purposed to visit Irland.

"I am Sr with Esteem S[r]. Your most humble Serv[t]

"Tho. Amory."

A paper in another hand[158] is marked "Copy," and has the dotted blanks here given :

"Limk., 6th Aprill, 1750.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

"by your representation and such information as I cou'd collect from the sister & some of the Bews near relations to Thomas Amory deceased, I find that the Heir you represent liveing in Boston is entitled in the manner you mention'd to the Estate of Thoms Amory deceased, no act of his if he was Tenant for life by the settlement could discontinue the Entail or bar the remainder, you mention yt the deceased divised Amory of Boston £150 or £200 provided he wou'd release his claim to the Estate, but you don't hint whether it was paid or release perfected, however fraudulent ye step may be in ye deceased, yet the operation of the settlement & of such relase must come under consideration at the same time.

"There 's no law in being by wch a Tenant for life can avoid the Entail or limitation of his own settlement. Lucy McMahon's long since dead & left severl sons &c the Eldest's of age.

"Alderman Higgins, Jno. & Jane Bew, George Purdon one of the Trustee's dead, Thomas Spaight Esqr the other Trustee's liveing. . . ."

The inquiry was renewed nineteen years later when a chance of property not in the colonies had fresh importance. Boston was garrisoned, to the great displeasure of the town. Thomas Amory entertaining some of the officers at his house heard bricks thrown at his windows[159]—one waked his little

Thomas Amory
1722–1784
From a Painting by John Singleton Copley

daughter by smashing the pane and falling on her bed. He went out to speak to the mob and it dispersed, but he had first hastily sent his guests by the garden way to the edge of the Back Bay, where they found a boat and escaped to their quarters. Ensign Burton of the 64th, who sailed for England with Governor Bernard, August 1st, 1769, is probably the E. W. Burton, who, touching at Halifax, delivered there a letter from Thomas Amory,[160] and forwarded the answer from Ireland three or four months later. Thomas had heard that a son of "Councellor Spaight" was at Halifax, and wrote to him asking whether Thomas of Rathlahine, his sons and his sister's sons, were living, and whether "there is a prospect of Receiving an Estate so unjustly kept from the lawful Heir."

"Ennis, November 28th, 1769.

"SIR[161]—According to my promise at leaving Boston I made all the enquiries in my power to satisfy you about the inheritance of the Estate in Ireland, the best and I am certain the truest account I could get is the enclosed; my compts. to Mrs & Miss Amiel & Mr. Forrest and if it be any way in my power to serve you here you may be certain of my complying.

"Yours E. W. BURTON."

"Direct to me at Limerick."

What seems to have been enclosed is:[162]

"Halifax, August 15, 1769. To Thomas Amory, Merchant in Boston.

"SIR,

"In compliance with your letter and Mr Burton's

request I will endeavor to give you the best information in my power concerning Mr Amory late of Bunratty and wish the little I know may be of any service.

"I am not personally acquainted with him but I know there is such a man who lives now in London and am sure he is the person you enquire after he has one son who was bred a physician and lives in some country town in England. His sister who was married to Mr McMahon is dead, and has left three sons and a daughter who is married to a Mr MacMahon and has several children. Her eldest son Thomas Amory McMahon lives at Ballykilty in the County of Clare. You desire to know if you have any prospect of recovering the estate. That is a thing I cannot be least judge of but would advise you to take the best opinions before you attempt what must be attended with a vast expense.

"I am Sir

"Your humble Servt.

"WILLIAM SPAIGHT."

Once more, after a seventy-five years' interval, the matter came up in 1844 when this Thomas of Boston having long since died, his eldest son's eldest son, the second Thomas Coffin Amory (cousin to Mr. T. C. Amory), received a letter :[163]

"—— —— Street, Dublin, 17 June 1844. To Thomas C. Amory Esqr.

"DEAR SIR

"Some years ago the late Major Amory came over to this country to sell a share of his family property in it which had been willed to him by one of his sisters but upon examination of his title deeds he found a difficulty of doing so

as there was an entail which he was not aware of. He subsequently told me he found by the entail that I was his heir at law and that in consequence he would not attempt to sell the property; After the lapse of a few years being in great difficulties and fresh law opinions pointing out to him that by levying fines and suffering recoveries he might cut off the entail he did so (I being abroad at the time in the island of Ceylon) but not having been paid the purchase money in a satisfactory way he commenced a law suit to get back the estate which suit his representatives have not yet brought to a conclusion.

"In consequence of what Major Amory had told me I had taken out a copy of his great grandfather's will by which I found he had divided his property between his son and daughter, the former the Major's ancestor and the latter mine, with cross remainders and a proviso that any of his daughter's issue who might hereafter succeed to the whole property by failure of his son's issue should take the name and bear the arms of Amory. He also referred in the will to the deed by which he had settled the property which deed for many years I had been vainly trying to get a sight of until I discovered it latterly. By his will I thought I should at least have come in for my great-Grandmother's share of the property which her son ran through and which I thought by the will he had not a right to dispose of as he did by selling it but upon examination of the deed I found that in case of failure of issue male by his daughter's descendants he had left your family the successors to it with various remainders to other branches of the family who might have issue male if at any time such failed in your family.

"I fear there is a legal question whether my grand uncle Mr MacMahon who sold the property had not the right to dispose of it by levying fines which he did. If he was born before the deed entailing the property he could not, if subsequently he had the power by the law as it now exists.

"I have not been able to ascertain the date of his birth as yet, but as I found the deed would have conveyed the property to your family I tho't it right to leave a copy of the deed with Mr Amory in London, who I know is acquainted with you, for your perusal as my Grand-Uncle left no male issue I am consequently cut out of any right.

"I fear lapse of time as well as other legal difficulties give you but a bad chance of anything from it but I have considered it a point of common honesty to let you know how the case stands and as my son is to sail to-morrow for Canada to join his Regiment I have desired him to drop this letter in the American Post for you. I write in haste and have the honour to be with best wishes for all my American connexions though not having the pleasure of knowing them

"Dear Sir

"Very truly yours———"

I omit the signature because that branch of the family did not ask me to tell their history, and it is perhaps a liberty to say so much of it as I have. But I do not know if either the kindly writer of this letter or Dr. Amory of Wakefield has representatives now living.

The recipient of the letter took legal advice upon it, of Mr James Trecothick Austin,[164] afterwards Attorney-General of Massachusetts. I find a copy[79] of several documents

relating to the affair with a legal opinion following them, which begins: "There are two questions under the statements of these papers." The writer first inquires what rights his client could have under the will of Thomas of Galy, made in 1666, and dismisses that question as fruitless for three reasons: 1. Because it cannot be satisfactorily proved that Bunratty's son and daughter had no legal right. 2. Because it cannot be proved that the entail was not docked. 3. Because the claim under the second will is the strongest and does not require proof of that nature. He then examines what rights his client could have under the will of Thomas of Bunratty, which 1. conveyed certain lands to Thomas [of Rathlahine] for life; if he had no issue, to Mrs MacMahon for life, and then to Thomas [of Boston] in tail male. But as Thomas of Rathlahine had a son and grandsons this is of no importance. 2. The will conveyed other lands to Lucy MacMahon for life, then to her son, and on failure of issue to Thomas of Boston. The only question arises from a vagueness in the will's expression at this point: does "failure of issue" mean "if Lucy has no son," or "if her son has no son"?

If it meant "in case Lucy have no son," then Thomas of Boston would have no claim, for we know from Mr. ——'s letter that she did have a son.

But if it meant "in case that son have no son," then there might be a claim, for we know her son died childless. It is said that this son, Mr. MacMahon, sold the lands. If the will meant "in case *he* have no son," it was by law impossible for him to sell, for there was a remainder limited over to Thomas of Boston, and in such a case the entail could not be docked.

The whole question turns on whether Lucy MacMahon's son was born before Bunratty made his will.

The idea of a lawsuit to be carried on in Ireland for the testing of this point, at a cost likely to equal the possible gain, did not commend itself to Mr. Amory, and he declined to take action. Thus, happily, the affair ended.

Mr. T. C. Amory, writing[165] in 1850 of the origin of his own interest in genealogy, says: "When a boy in Park Street [No. 7, where the Union Club now stands, was bought by his father, Jonathan *tertius*, in 1812. It was sold about 1835.] I found in the basement room in an old fashioned bookcase of vast dimensions containing a great many old books that had belonged to my grandfather, an old parchment will [the copy of Thomas of Galy's will sent by Mrs. O'Connor] and papers. . . . Later . . . I was called upon to ransack a trunk of my grandmother's full of interesting letters and papers." He was nineteen when he found this trunk, in the counting-room which had been his father's at 8, India Wharf. Mr. Henry Codman lent him the letter-books and papers of the Thomas Amory who first came to Boston, and his uncle Nathaniel Amory showed him the sketch of the author of "John Buncle" in the "European Magazine" (vol. xv, p. 21). Its reference to the Wakefield letter (see below, Chapter XVI.) led to his sending for a copy of this, which his cousin, Mr. James Bowdoin, procured for him from the British Museum.

To return to the eighteenth century. It happened that before 1762 the firm of Jonathan and John Amory moved from Dock Square. If they had known what was coming

they might have chosen their new position expressly to witness the drama of Boston's part in an American Revolution. From no point could the stage be commanded better than from windows in "King Street, just below the Towne House."[166] As this expression, quoted by Drake in regard to their place of business, is also found by him in the "Boston Gazette," of October 26th, 1724, describing the situation of "The Bunch of Grapes," it seems a fair inference that the brothers established themselves in their grandfather Holmes's house, which was now their mother's, and had ceased to be a tavern. I infer also that this was on the south side of the street, on the site of Brazer's Building, because on the north side "just below the Towne House" was the Colonial Custom House. John Amory's will, made in 1796, leaves "to my son Thomas Amory my moiety or half part of the house & land in State Street, Boston, at the corner of Quaker Lane [Congress Street] with the yard thereto belonging, the same now occupied by Mr Taylor and Mr Burley. Also my moiety of the small brick tenement adjoining, now occupied by Mr Gealey . . . but as the said premises so devised to my son Thomas as above have been long in our family it is my desire (though no legal restraint) that he will not part with the same, out of the family, without necessity." Drake believes that the Amorys' was the last of the "old stores" left standing in King Street, and Mr. S. A. Drake speaks[167] of "an old two-storey wooden house which stood upon the site of Brazer's Building," and in which were begun in 1791 the United States Bank and the Post Office. I hope that all this is not a very absurd confusion on my part: I write it in order to direct the attention of those who are able to settle it to a point which will always,

I think, interest the family. Jonathan Amory had arranged his store for two separate businesses in 1780, when he set up his nephews' firm in the one half and remained himself in the other. It is not unlikely that he lived in the house over the store, as was still the custom of King Street merchants. John built for himself a house[168] at the corner of Tremont and Beacon Streets, opposite King's Chapel. There are indications that John was the active partner, and composed the more important of the firm's letters, but there was no difference of opinion between him and his brother, and in his absence the tone of the letters on public questions is unchanged. Both brothers were among the fifty-eight principal merchants of Boston who signed a memorial to the General Court[169] in 1760. They therein charged the Crown officials with having taken to their own use that proportion which by law accrued to the Province of the moneys obtained by seizure of smuggled goods. The petition was really a blow aimed at the Smuggling Acts, at the Writs of Assistance, and in general at the new attempt of Ministers to reform "the scandalous slackness of our colonial administration." The blow had no effect, and then came Otis with his plea—which for years, however, he still put as a request to a Sovereign Parliament—that all duties should be held illegal as the colonies were not represented in the House of Commons. While this principle was taking root in men's minds, and the pamphlet war between Mr. Apthorp and Mr. Mayhew was exacerbating the Puritan fear of the Church, the merchants began their practical answer to the Government by making agreements not to buy—except at fixed prices, and as far as possible not to buy at all—anything imported from England. When on April 4th, 1765, news came

that the Stamp Act—a measure avowedly for revenue, and as such resented by the colonists, although the revenue was to be spent in their own defence—had actually passed, and would be in force from the 1st of November then following, Samuel Adams openly denied Parliament's right to tax America, suggested union among the colonies, and urged a general non-importation. Four months later the appearance of Stamp-distributors provoked riots, one of which beginning in King Street in the evening of August 26th with a bonfire and attacks on the Government offices, finished at the North End, where by daylight Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson's house, "one of the best finished houses in the Province, had nothing remaining but the bare walls and floors."[170] Hutchinson, unjustly charged with having favoured the Stamp Act, could hardly have failed to lose his life but for his daughter's refusal as the mob approached to escape unless he went with her. Neither magistrates nor militia officers interfered, and Governor Bernard, at the Castle down the harbour, heard nothing of it until the morning. When he did hear he hastened to town and summoned the Council. "Before they could meet," says Hutchinson, "the inhabitants of Boston assembled in Faneuil Hall and, in as full a meeting as had been known, by an unanimous vote, declared an utter detestation of the extraordinary and violent proceedings of a number of persons unknown. . . . It could not be doubted that many of those who were immediate actors in, as well as of those who had been abettors of, these violent proceedings, were present at this unanimous vote." It was proposed that the next night the reputable citizens should arm, and patrol the streets. But a group of them, "merchants and other persons of property

and character," threatened that this offer should be entirely withdrawn unless the Sheriff released a mechanic who had been arrested as ringleader of the mob; and the few other rioters imprisoned were set free by a party of men who entered the gaoler's house at night and forced him to deliver up the keys. On the 10th of September the Stamp-distributor for New Hampshire, landing at Long Wharf, met a crowd so threatening that he instantly renounced his office, and was brought in triumph up King Street to the Exchange, where the cheering was loud and long. On the 20th the stamps themselves arrived, but as there was no officer to receive them Governor Bernard could only keep them in the Castle, and prorogue the General Court without assenting to its proposal that transactions with unstamped papers should be formally legalized. The business community were fully resolved to have nothing to do with the stamps. They knew that their case had the sympathy of a large party in England, and that they could also put pressure on the merchants there by refusing to import. An agreement was promptly made "to recall all conditional English orders, except for sea-coal and a few other bulky articles, and to order none, except upon condition that the Stamp Act was repealed. All who did not come in to this agreement were looked on as enemies to the country. . . . All merchants who were getting vessels ready for sea took out their papers before the first of November, although they did nor expect to use them for a month or more after that; thereby avoiding stamped clearances." When the day came it was begun with tolling bells, the vessels in the harbour had their flags at half mast, and effigies of Grenville and Huske were found hanging on a tree near Essex Street, which had

gained the name of the Liberty Tree at the time of the August riots. This time there was no riot, although thousands collected near the tree in the afternoon, to cheer while the Sons of Liberty cut the figures down and put them into a cart, and then to follow the cart to the Court House where the Assembly were in session, thence to the North End, and finally to the Neck. Here the figures were hanged on the gallows, torn in pieces and flung into the air, the crowd responding with cheers, but thereafter dispersing quietly—proof to some minds that the "horrid violence" of August 26th was "not agreeable to the sentiments of the Town;" but proof to others "of an influence the mob was under, and that they might be let loose or kept up just as their leaders thought fit." This is the situation at the beginning of our two volumes of the Letter-Books of Jonathan and John Amory.[171]

CHAPTER X.

Letter-Books, 1765-1768.

[LV.] "Boston, Oct 26. 1765 To Messrs Elams
"Pr Logic & Cartwright, Via Bristol, w^th^ Duplicate of Bill.

"Gentlemen

YESTERDAY we recd a Letter from [blank] inclosing a duplicate Protest of Mr. Fluker's Bill—had you kept the second bill it would have been taken up by Messrs Lane & Co as wrote you pr Capt Jackson. . . . The present difficulties relating to y^e^ Stamp Act prevent our inclosing you any Memorandum, if it is not repeal'd it will probably put an end to our Trade."

[LVI.] "Boston, Nov. 1. 1765 To Messrs Wright & Gill, Stationers. Pr Capt. Fleet.

"Your favours of 21^st^ August we rec'd with the box of Cards pr Capt. Hunter—As by the Stampt Act any person that sells a pack of Cards after this Day is subject to a large penalty, We can't at present determine what we shall be able to do with them. Tho' from the determin'd Resolutions among all Ranks of People not to submit to it, we cant suppose it will ever take place among us.

"If it does it will be to the Ruin of your Trade here, as we have no doubt there will be a general Combination among all Degrees not to make use of any of your manufactures but those which absolute necessity requires, which will lessen your Trade here to one Quarter of what it now is. Frugality is the only weapon we have & this will be used to the utmost extent.

"As the Answer of our Assembly & their Resolves speak the Sense of the Country on these Matters & as We think you may not have a sight of them in your Papers We have sent you by Capt. Fleet a doz. of our News Papers, which contain them, some of them are directed to our Friends, which (if you can without Expense & Trouble) please to forward, the others please to distribute among your Friends.

"Yours ——"

[LVII.] "Boston, Nov. 2. 1765. To Messrs Milloway & Eyer Pr Capt Fleet & Logic.

"This covers Drummond's bill on Sir Saml Fludger & Co. for £150 sterling.—please to send us 40 or 50 ps. of Rushia Drabs of a low price—The present Difficulties of the times prevent our Writing for anything further. If the Stamps Act is not repeal'd our Importations from England will soon be in a manner over."

The hint in the next letter about united action on the part of all the Colonies had good ground, for already in October at New York their delegates had met, summoned by the Massachusetts Assembly (at its June session) with a Circular in which even Governor Bernard and his Council

had concurred. In November a few ships left Boston with unstamped clearances and a certificate from the Custom House officers that stamps could not be procured, but during the last weeks of the year even this form was set aside, vessels going out as usual. Such things were effected, Hutchinson says, by the authority of a mere committee of merchants, "Mr. Rowe at their head;" and in deference to resolute Town-meetings the Courts also were re-opened, Hutchinson as Judge of Probate resigning rather than open his. The town, whose high-handed control of the provincial government he so indignantly describes, consisted at this time of fifteen thousand persons—counting women and children and a thousand negroes—lodged in less than seventeen hundred dwellings. The resistance it was making had so far strong support from public opinion in England. A suggestion in the House of Commons that the people of Boston were rebels, and that an army should be sent to reduce them, was silenced with cries of "To the Tower! To the Tower!" and Burke, private secretary to the minister who had succeeded Grenville, was setting the whole force of an unexampled eloquence against the Stamp Act. His position in regard to it was the same which he held on the whole American question. "I am not," runs the well-known speech on American taxation, April 19th, 1774——

"I am not here going into the distinction of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions, I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions born of our unhappy contest will die with it. Be content to bind America by laws of trade: you have always done it, let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do

not burden them by taxes: you were not used to do so from the beginning, let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments for States and Kingdoms. Leave the rest to the Schools, for there only may they be discussed with safety. Nobody will be argued into slavery."

Mr. T. C. Amory mentions[172] a tradition in the family that Jonathan and John Amory's "correspondence, read in Parliament in 1765," strengthened the pressure for repeal. No doubt the London merchants, summoned to give evidence[173] before the Committee of the whole in February and March, 1766, would quote American letters in proof of what they said, but we cannot know details, as the reporting of debates in the House—even now technically a breach of privilege—did not begin until some years later. Among the persons ordered to attend, the Journal of the House of Commons names Mr. George Hayley (see Letter LXXV.), Mr. William Wright, perhaps of Wright and Gill (page 124), and Mr. William Reeve. It is to Devonshire and Reeve that the Amorys express special gratitude after the repeal is obtained (Letter LXXI.). Parliament had received twenty-three petitions[174] in a fortnight on the subject, beginning with one from "the merchants of London trading to North America." Considering, it said, that "from the Nature of this Trade consisting of *British* manufactures exported, and of the Import of raw Materials from *America* . . . it must be deemed of the highest Importance in the Commercial System of this Nation: and that this Commerce, so beneficial to the State and so necessary for the Support of Multitudes now lies under such Difficulties and Discouragements that nothing less than its utter Ruin is apprehended . . . and that in consequence of

the Trade . . . as established and permitted for many Years and of the Experience which the Petitioners have had of the Readiness of the *Americans* to make their just Remittances to the utmost of their real Ability, they have been induced to make and venture such large Exportations of *British* manufactures as to leave the Colonies indebted to the Merchants of *Great Britain* in the sum of several Millions Sterling, and that at this time the Colonists . . . declare it is not in their Power, at present, to make good their Engagements, alleging that the Taxes and Restrictions laid upon them and the Extension of the Jurisdiction of Vice Admiralty Courts . . . particularly by an Act [4 Geo. III.] . . . for granting certain Duties . . . and by an Act [5 Geo. III.] for granting . . . Stamp Duties and other duties . . . which . . . are represented to have been extended in such a Manner as to disturb legal Commerce and harass the fair Trader, have so far interrupted their Commerce that . . . the Means of Remittances and Payments are utterly lost and taken from them; the Petitioners are . . . reduced to the Necessity of applying to the House in order to secure themselves and their Families from impending Ruin; to prevent a Multitude of Manufacturers from becoming a Burthen to the Community or else seeking their Bread in other Countries to the irretrievable Loss of this Kingdom; to preserve the Strength of this Nation intire . . . and the Colonies from Inclination, Duty and Interest firmly attached to the Mother Country."

The rest of the petitions were to the same effect, coming from the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, the principal inhabitants of the County of Somerset, from Liverpool, Leeds, Warwick, etc. etc. Only two were from America: the

Colonial Delegates at New York sent one, the other was "from William Middleton Esq and others, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the Inhabitants and Owners of Property in South Carolina." William was the eldest of Sarah (Amory) Middleton's three sons; he was agent in England for South Carolina, inherited Crowfield Hall, Suffolk, from his father's sister, Mrs. Browning, and died in 1775. The second son, Henry Middleton, who had been President of the Council in South Carolina, was President of the Congress of October, 1774. His son Arthur signed the Declaration of Independence. His grandson Henry was Minister to Russia in 1820 and 1832, and a great grandson, the late Nathaniel Russell Middleton, was a distinguished President of the University of Charleston. All the present South Carolina Middletons descend, I believe, from Sarah Amory's son Henry; her youngest son, Thomas, left only daughters and one son, who died unmarried. The English line from William seems also to have come to an end.

[LVIII.] "Boston Nov. 13. 1765. To Messrs Bird & Smith. Pr Logic, Capt Deverson.

"Gentlemen

"We received your favor with the Goods agreeable to Invoice—We suppose the Bills we have sent you will about balance our Account, which please to send us pr first Opportunity—We now inclose you a Memorandum for Goods which please to send us pr first good Opportunity with Insurance, provided the Stamp Act is repealed or suspended; if not please to keep the Memorandum till we write you further about it. We are very apprehensive if that Act is not

repeal'd that there will be a general Determination not only here but through out the Continent of America not to make use of any English manufactures other than what absolute necessity requires, which will reduce the Importations from England to a mere Trifle to what they have been & must intirely put an End to our Trade with you. If this Act is forc'd upon us we shall consider ourselves as no other than slaves without anything we can call our own. It must render disaffected to the English Government above a million of People who till now were Proud of being Englishmen & as firmly attach'd to the Interest of England as if they had been born there. After being deprived of our natural Liberties as Men, & our Privileges granted our Ancestors by Royal Charter, we shall be very indifferent who our foreign masters are & perhaps we may like them the least, who we once lov'd the best.

" P.S. Be careful that all the white Ribbons be of a blue Cast, as no other will sell, & let 2/3 of the Leylock colour'd Ribbon be of the Shade of inclos'd Pattern, the rest a Shade lighter."

[LIX.] " Boston Dec. 4. 1765. To Mr John White

" S^r^

" We Rec'd yours pr Cap^t^ Meliken. He has not as yet landed y^e^ Pott Ash, we have taken in two Barrells from Mr Leonard.

" The Vessells that are now bound to England & clear'd out regularly are full. Cap^t^ Marshall is going soon but will not have a regular Clearance, & believe is full also, so that

some people think there may be hazard—you must write us wether you would have it shipt in any Vessell that may offer & that may not be clear'd as formerly, & also what you would have done if no opportunity offers to write previously for Insurance.

"We have heard of no Carts for Northfield."

[LX.] "Boston Dec 20. 1765. To Messrs Barnards & Harrison. Pr Marshall & Hunter.

"We have received your favour pr Cap: Scott. We now inclose you a small Memorandum for Goods which please to send us pr the first good Opportunity with Insurance, provided the Stamp Act is sett aside, but if otherwise we would not have an Article sent us, but the Memorandum with the Patterns kept carefully for further Directions.

"We can't think that the Merchants who deal to America will find it to their Interest to increase their Debts here by further Exportations, unless the Stamp Act is repealed. The Resentment of the People here is at a very high Pitch, but will be much higher if not soon reliev'd. There will certainly be a general Combination of all Ranks of People to throw off every sort of Luxury in Dress, which you must know will take in at least two thirds of our Imports from Great Britain. We hope you will be careful not to ship our Goods unless (as we have mentiond before) the Stamp Act is sett aside, as our honour is engaged herein, & we should be really afraid of what might happen to our Goods, should they be sent us without a Regard to this Direction; There has been a general Combination, not to import any Goods, receive them upon Commission, or purchase them of any Stranger.

People begin to Cloath themselves in our own manufactures, & this must soon generally increase if we are not relieved. We are at present in a state of Anarchy, however we are petitioning our Governour & Council that our Courts may be open, which we think they must come into, as People seem determin'd to pay no Taxes to Government, if we are depriv'd of the Benefit of it."

[LXI.] "Boston Dec. 20. 1765 To Milloway & Eyer. Pr Marshall & Galaspie.

"We wrote you in November last for 40 or 50 ps. Rushia Drabs or Drillings w^ch^ we now desire may not be sent unless y^e^ Stamp Act be Repeal'd. In short our whole Trade must be lost if we are not Relievd—if the Act is repeal'd you may send us w^th^ Insurance fifty ps of Dowlass sorted beginning pretty low.

"Inclosd is Richard Gridley's Bill on James Fistler Esq £42 w^ch^ nearly ballances our Acc^t^. . . ."

[LXII.] "Boston, Dec. 20. 1765. To Rayner Dawson & Co. P. Marshall.

"This serves to cover Messrs. Atkinson & Campbell's first bill on Messrs Simond & Hankey for £170 Stg w^ch^ if paid please pass to our Credit.

"Please to acquaint Messrs Coats that we have not as yet been able to get any part of their Money of Mr Apthorp, tho' we hope to soon. We are now intirely without Law so can only make use of gentle Arguments to get in our Debts.

"There is now a general Agreement to Import no English Manufactures unless y^e^ Stamp Act be Repeal'd, as also to Receive no Goods on Commission nor purchase of those who

may bring them. In short we shall Do everything in our power not to be slaves. Our Trade to England will Certainly be Reduc'd to a Trifle if we are not Reliev'd."

[LXIII.] "Boston Dec. 20. 1765. To Mr Edward Pitts Pr Marshall & Galaspie.

"Inclos'd is Michael Franklin's bill on Mr Brook Watson for £35 sterling w^ch^ if pd please to pass to our Credit. In Case the Stamp Act (by which [we] esteem our Rights & Liberties destroy'd) is Repeal'd to send us with Insurance

"100 doz N. 4 Pins
25 doz — 12 do.
8 doz — 10 do
8 doz short Whites.

"Yrs. ——"

[LXIV.] "Boston Jan. 17. 1766. To Messrs. Barnard & Harrison. P^r^ Cap^t^ Scott.

"Since our last we have tried a few of your Silks at Vendue and altho the Sale was equal to our expectation yet as the Loss will be Considerable & you order us unless we can obtain saving prices or near them to keep them till further orders we shall not put up any more till we hear from you. We endeavour'd to get them off as high as possible by employing a person to bid that they might not be sold for a song. Six peices were sold, the Amount of which by Invoyce exclusive of Charges was £28 „ 5 Stg; they yielded only £25 „ 13 Stg. This loss added to y^e^ Charge of Importation etc. is Considerable. We can't expect better sales at Vendue, perhaps not so good. We have put a number to retail Shops

that are well Accustomed with Directions to sell a Gownd or half-peice & have fixed the price at about 10 p Ct above the first Cost (exclusive of Charges) which we think the highest price they will bear & have agreed to allow 5 p Ct for selling —but a Loss must arise even in this way but can do no better with them. We much doubt their going off Quick at that price. Pray write us by the first Opportunity further about them. We are Desirous to do the best we can.

"Inclosed is a Duplicate of Capt Galaspie's Bill of Lading for 8 Barrells of Pott Ashes.

"We wrote you by Marshall that we had Bale Damag'd which came by him. Since wch have taken out a warrant for a survey on 5 ps of Cloth copy of which with ye Return we now Inclose you as also the Vendue Master's Acct by wch you will find ye Loss much Less than valued they sold Indeed beyound Expectation the five peices Cost £38 „ 19 „ 3½, first Cost exclusive of Charges of Exportation wch must estimate at Lest 4½ p Ct, you'l find much more than 5 p Ct on the Package. Mr Greenleaf tells [us] he remembers you told him ye average Loss was on ye Package, not the Invoyce, wch in all Justice ought to be the Case as we seldom should obtain any Loss on Large Invoyces if it were otherwise. We hope your Care to obtain this Loss as we think we have taken proper Steps. Please to acquaint us in your Next wether we shall get the Loss Return'd us."

[LXV.] "Boston Feb 18th 1766. Messrs Kippen & Son

Pr Ormond & Freeman.

"Your letter of the 3rd of Decr 1765 together with 4 Casks of Snuff we receiv'd pr Cap: Bell.

"Inclosed you have a Bill of Exchange for £50 Stg drawn by Nich[l] Jamieson on Glassford Gordon & Co: in favour of James Glassford which please to pass to the Credit of, Sirs, yours ——

"P.S. Please to send us Ten Casks of Snuff if the Stamp Act is repealed or set aside; if there should be two Vessels coming please to send half by each; if not the whole together. We hope your care to send none but the best."

On the day when the next letter was written, the Sons of Liberty found a ship daring to come into port with a stamped clearance. They took the detested paper away from the Captain within the very doors of the Custom House, and burned it in King Street at the lower end of the Town House, with impressive ceremonies.

[LXVI.] "Boston Feb 22[nd] 1766. Messrs Devonshire & Reeve. P[r] Omand.

"We have before us your favor of 19[th] October. We heartily condole with you on the Loss of our Friend Mr Griffin. Although his ill health render'd Life not very desireable to him yet no Doubt it would have afforded to him as well as his Friends a great pleasure, had he been permitted once more to have seen his native Country. He has left behind him the best Character, that of an honest Man.

"The Goods pr Capt Bartlett were agreeable to Invoice & to our liking.

"Our Hopes from our late Accts from England of the Stamp Act being repeal'd, induce us to send you a further Memorandum of Goods which we desire may be sent us if

that Act be sett aside, but not otherwise. Please to get them insured. . . . We are with esteem, yours ——"

[LXVII.] "Boston. March 31st 1766. Messrs Griffiths & Thomas. Pr Freeman & Mr Deblois.

"This Day we receiv'd your favor of 8th Jan: inclosg. our Acct. Current, ballance in your favor £4,, 1 ,, Stg. which Sum you'l receive with this from the Hands of our Friend Mr Gilbert Deblois. Please to send us Receipt in full.

"As we have lately Imported Goods from Messrs Devonshier & Reeves we think it proper to acquaint you with the reason of it, which was our being able to purchase Exchange to center with them when other Bills were not to be had.

"We are Gentlemen with esteem

"——"

[LXVIII.] "Boston, April 14th 1766. Messrs Devonsheer & Reeve Pr Deverson.

"We wrote you a few Days ago pr Cap: Freeman; the Occasion of this is to recommend to you as a Customer, our Brother in Law Mr Timothy Newell who now writes to you for a few Goods.

"This Gentleman by his own Industry has acquir'd a handsome Estate, & as the Trade he carries on is much within his Capital, we doubt not he will be able to pay you in season. We can freely recommend him as a Gentleman of the best Character for Prudence, Integrity and Œconomy & as he is not engaged in any hazardous Trade we think you may engage with him with as much safety as with any Person here.

"As we have but very lately had the Honour of a Correspondence with you ourselves We should not have taken the Freedom to have recommended another to you, had it not been in such an Instance as this where we can with so much confidence."

[LXIX.] "Boston May 31st 1766. Messrs Harrison & Barnard. Pr Jarvis.

"We have wrote you already pr this Conveyance. Cap: Jarvis being still detain'd we embrace the Opportunity of writing a Line in answer to that part of a Letter wherein you so much recommend a suitable Conduct upon our receiving the News of the Repeal of the Stamp Act, & we are led to it more particularly at this time as we are apprehensive that the Speech which our Governour deliver'd two days since to the Assembly & which no doubt you'l have by this Vessel, may make an ill Impression upon the Minds of People with you who mayn't know the particular matters which he alludes to when he speaks of an ill Temper prevailing here &c. We can with Pleasure assure you that since our receiving the News of the Stamp Act's being repeal'd the minds of People here are quieted, & not disposed in general to seek after Novelties; but their Behaviour has been such as their Friends in England who were so willing to answer for their Conduct need not be ashamed of their Engagement."

In spite of this assurance, honestly given, "the minds of the People" did cling to a "Novelty" so signally triumphant as their resistance to authority had proved to be. "The Americans," Burke observed, "in various ways demonstrated

their gratitude. I am bold to say that so sudden a calm recovered after so violent a storm is unparalleled in history." There certainly were bonfires and rejoicings; two Thanksgiving Days were kept within two months, sermons were preached, and Dr. Mayhew dedicated his to Mr. Pitt, as "an illustrious Patron of America." But Governor Bernard and Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson were hardly conscious of the calm which Burke praised. Both had laboured for repeal, but it brought them little credit. They stood in the town's view for an enemy once conquered who must be permitted no restoration. In every General Court from this time to the actual Revolution, the King's representatives were met with a fixed hostility that made the sessions "almost one continued scene of strife and contention," and Hutchinson, in 1767, received an indemnity for the destruction of his house two years before only on condition of a pardon for all the rioters. "The claim of Parliament," *i.e.*, the Declaratory Act which accompanied the repeal, affirming Parliament's right to tax the Colonies, was set aside with such arguments as in the letter here following. The letter of November 14th, 1767, emphasizes the root of the colonies' lack of union, namely, that they had no actual legal unity.

[LXX.] "Boston June 16th 1766. Messrs Devonshier & Reeve. Pr. Bonney.

"The above is a small Memorandum for Goods which please to send us pr the first Opportunity with Insurance.

"Since our last we have receiv'd your favor of 18th March, acquainting us with the Repeal of the Stamp Act. We have

the highest Sense of the Assiduity & Kindness of our Friends in that most Important Concern & among whom we are sensible you have been the foremost; And it is with particular Pleasure we can assure you that there is now the fairest Prospect that the Harmony & Affection which so long subsisted without the least Interruption till the Stamp Act was pass'd will again take place, at least it is (we can assure you) the ardent wish of the People here. Their Minds are now quieted & not disposed in general to Novelties, but content that the Line of Dependance should rest where it now is, as we look upon the matter of internal Taxes as now settled notwithstanding the claim of Parliament. We can't,the Wisdom & Policy of the Government will suffer them again to attempt even what we esteem our natural & inherent Rights or our Charter Priviledges, for should they, they must expect that we shall not be wanting in making every Effort to preserve our Freedom more dear to us than Life. We are thoroughly sensible that there is no Power on Earth with whom we could so well be connected as with Great Britain, as almost all our Interests coincide, & as our Security depends upon her Fleets & Armies, maintain'd at an immense Charge; We are content with a Restriction on our Trade, especially that Part which it is most the Interest of Great Britain to exclude us from, we mean the Dutch & Northern Trade. We are sensible also that a state of Independence (could we obtain to it) would not probably be so well for us as our present Situation; & we see nothing but that the Colonies may continue their subjection to England even long after they may arrive to a condition of casting off their Dependance, provided the Government there studies to gain their affections & govern

them with mildness. We are apprehensive that the speeches our Governour delivered lately at the opening of the Court, wherein he mentions an ill Temper prevailing &c. may tend to make an Impression to our disadvantage abroad when the particular matter to which he refers may not be known. The Governour has lost many Friends by these Speeches; had he delivered himself in the mild & kind terms used by Secretary Conway whose Letter he had before him it would have tended much to have restor'd the Harmony & Quiet he seems so much to desire, however if the Answer of the Assembly & Council be read together with it, it will, we hope, prevent any ill Effect.

"We are sorry that nothing has yet been done to make good the Loss of the Lieutenant Governour. It appears to be the general Desire to have it done, The Difficulties arise in the manner of doing it; The People of Boston are Desirous of its being a Provincial Charge, but would esteem it a great Reproach as well as Injustice to have it thrown on them alone; the Country Deputies are fearfull of offending their Constituents by bringing any part of the Charge on them. A Subscription has been talked of, but the Station the Lieutenant Governour fills (as Chief Justice of this Province) forbids that method. Notwithstanding these Difficulties we can't but hope the Gentleman will by some means or other meet with Relief."

[LXXI.] "Boston July 2nd 1766. Messrs Devonshier & Reeve.

" . . . Our Brother Thomas Amory having occasion for some Goods from Bristol we have advis'd him to your House. We can recommend him as a Person we think you may deal

with with the greatest safety & whom we doubt not will pay you to your satisfaction."

[LXXII.] "Boston Nov. 14th 1767. To Messrs John, Samuel & Thomas Coates

"We recd yours with y^e^ Letter to Mr Mollineux which we have deliv'd. We find by talking with him that you have nothing further to expect from him. If Mr Gould pays us anything we shall carefully remitt to you.

"We are surprized you should urge us further to collect Debts for you at New York after what we wrote you; which was that we were not acquainted with any Person there, & that it would be full as easy by enquiring in London for you to find some Person you might confide in, as for us.

"You say in your Letter that altho' we may have no acquaintance at York, there are many attorneys in Boston we can depend upon. We know of no advantage that would result from our knowledge of Attorneys, as action cannot be Brought in our Courts against Persons at New York, so that we are at a loss for your meaning in this.

"Your humble Servts

"Jon^a^ & John

"Amory."

In 1767, the year of the birth of his eldest son, Thomas Amory paid a bill[175] for "1 Silver Punch Strainer, w^t^ 4:7:0," and for the "fashioning" of it "£17 „ 7 old tenor." As made on the spot this, we may hope, did not come under the censure passed that year by the Town Meeting on all return to a luxury involving large importations from England, which meant

paying—more or less—the detested duties, and also exhausting the resources of the colony. Edward Payne and Timothy Newell[176] were in these years often on the Town Committees.

[LXXIII.] "Boston Dec 1. 1767. Messrs Harrison Barnard & Spragg. Pr Freeman & Calfe.

"We now Inclose you our Memorandum for the Spring w^ch^ we desire may be sent us with Insurance pr the first Opportunity. We pray your Care that we may have our Goods early but more especially the Calicoes as they will be wanted First. We must beg leave to observe to you that your attention to Purchase everything on the Best terms is now peculiarly necessary as the Profits upon Trade are almost reduced to nothing, & the Rivalship among the sellers greater than ever. We hope we shan't have occasion to complain of the Dearness of any of the Articles as we have been obliged concerning some in our Last Letters. We would have all our Insurances made in such a manner that a Loss of 3 p. C^t^. on each Package may be recover'd w^ch^ Mr Haley informs us is his method. You have again mistook us with regard to the Waled or Twill'd Alamode, it ought to have been a Kerrey Wale, which is very Common for Alamodes design'd for Cravats. We have not at present any of it by us or should have sent you a Pattern of what we mean.

"We now Inclose you Duplicates of Phillip Jacobs Bill on Hunter & Bayley £140, Chas. Abbot on Rob. Travers £50, as also Mr Jno Hancock's Bill on Mr Geo. Haley N. 40 for £600 of w^ch^ £350 belongs to Mr W^m^ Gale & £180 to Mr Moses Parsons junr. & the Remainder being £70 to ourselves, Please to Credit accordingly.—Mr Stephen Greenleaf

does not send you any Memorandum for the Spring, not that he has sent to any other House, but that the Trade in English Goods has so alter'd for the worse that he proposes to desist from any further Importations w^ch^ we think is Best. We doubt not his Care to compleat the Payment of what he owes you by the spring of the year."

[LXXIV.] "Boston Dec 30. 1767. Messrs Hughes & Whitelock. P. Capt Hall.

"We have now before us yours of the 22^nd^ of July since which we have not been favour'd with anything from you. . . . Messrs Rayner & Dawson have wrote us that they have repeatedly requested you to pay the Money that we desir'd you to pay them but without Effect. You must be sensible, Gentlemen, the disadvantage it must be to Our Credit w^th^ them to be thus treated.

"We observe what you say of your Intention to purchase some Bohea Teas in Sept^r^. Why you should defer purchasing till that time we are at a Loss, as large Quantitys were sent here Purchased before that Time, we suppose at the Sales. We must observe that in our Letter of Feb^y^. 16^th^: last we desir'd that in case you could not purchase Bohea Teas to y^e^ best advantage, that you would pay what remains you might have in your Hands to Messrs Harrison Barnard & Co. this we think you ought to have done rather than have kept it so long by you. We have only to add our desire that you would send us by the first Opportunity our Acc^t^ Current accompanied with Acc^t^ of Sales of the Pott and Pearl Ashes by the Cleopatra, as also those by Capt Hatch & Calf—& that whatever Money you may have of ours you would pay to our Freinds Mess^rs^.

Harrison Barnard & Spragg, together with the Interest for the time it has been in your hands which you cant but think is reasonable. We should have wrote you sooner had we not been waiting a Long time for the arrival of the Cpts. Deverson & Shand, expecting you might have wrote us & perhaps sent us the Teas by them but as they are now Missing Vessels, we desire if you did write us by them you would send us the copies of your Letters, as also if any Goods were sent us by them & there should be a Loss that you would recover the Insurance & pay it as we have desir'd above to Messrs. Harrison & Co.—We should be glad of a line from you by the first opportunity & remain—Yours &c. ——"

[LXXV.] "Boston, April 18. 1768. George Hayley
P Wilson & Scott.

"Our last was the 28th March since which we have receiv'd your favours by the Captains Scott & Freeman.

"We now send you a Certificate for the Tea p. Capt Scott. Inclos'd you have Duplicate of Jno Coffin's Bill in favour of Caleb Coffin on yourself for £100 Sterlg if not honor'd please to return p first Opportunity with Protest.

"We have now to desire you would send us the following Articles which are for our own Use, therefore pray your particular Attention & that they may come by the very first Vessel as they are immediately wanted. Vizt: 3 ps Copper plate Furniture printed Cottons to Contain abt 28 yds in a p. a Crimson on a white Ground to be of a handsome figure, a rural scene with Men, trees, Animals etc with Lace Trimming, Tassels, &c. compleat for a Bed, Curtains & Cushings

for four Windows; the Curtains both of Bed & Windows to draw up.

"2 Handsome Marble Hearths white Marble & well polish'd, one of them 6 feet 2 inches by 20 inches, the other $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 18 inches also four small peices for the Sides, Vizt 2 of them 10 inches by 12, & 2 of them 12 Inches Square.

"A Mohagany Case with 1 doz. Ivory handle Knives & 1 doz Forks & places for Six Spoons, let the Ivory be White & the Blades Good.

"1 Basket for Wine Glasses.

"7 Roles of a handsome Paper for an Entry & Stair Case, the Entry & Stair way is wainscotted Chair high. Messrs Lane & Co. sent one to Mr Rowe which we like very well; it 's a buff colour'd Ground, printed in Imitation of Pictures at a Considerable Distance from each other, if you'l be so kind as to enquire of them no doubt they can tell you where the same pattern may be had.

"13 yds very best Bedtick, a Narrow Stripe. Please to let the Colour of the Printed Cotton be as near the Pattern as you can get, we are particular in mentioning this that you may avoid sending Scarlet. We hope you'l excuse the Trouble we give you in these Little matters."

[LXXVI.] "Boston, May 12th 1768. Leatham Walker & Co. Scott & Davies.

"Our last was ye 16th: April. We propose to send by the Brigg Lydia, James Scott Mr. six hundred Mill'd Dollars, 20 half Johannes, & thirty Guineas wch will amt to abt £205 Sterlg please to get £210 insured thereon: she is a good

Vessel & has a very Good Master so hope you may get it done @ 25/p C^{t} as it last summer was done on Cash, however if can't at that price get it as low as you can. We now desire you would send us with Insurance

"See Order Book ———

"please to ship them as Early in Aug^{t} as you can. We are under Engagem^{ts} to receive no Goods shipt after September so that if not shipt before that time must be Omitted. The kind of Linnens you sent us suit our sale, be pleas'd therefore to send the same Kind. A sort is sent sometimes folded flatter which dont answer."

[LXXVII.] "Boston, June 18. 1768. Messrs Har. Bar. & Spragg. Capt Brett.

". . . You would oblige us if you would aquaint us in your Next which kind of Gold best suits the London Market as it frequently happens when we can neither obtain Bills of Exch^{a} or Dollars we should be Glad to remitt you in that specie but are prevented by being uncertain whether it will answer. Please to acquaint us with the particular prices of the several Species of Gold.—We propose to ship you p. Brigantine Hannah, Rob^{t} Jarvis Master two Hundred Pounds Sterling in Cash, on which please to get Insurance made. The Vessel is a prime sailor & the Master an Experienced Captain. Please to make the Insurance conditionally for if we can meet with Exch^{a} we shall prefer it to sending the Cash."

CHAPTER XI.

Letter-Books, 1768-1773.

IN the next letter "what had happened here relating to the Commissioners," was John Hancock's smuggling some wine, brought in, June 10th, by his sloop the "Liberty," and the mob's taking vengeance for the seizure of the sloop on the Comptroller, Collector, and Inspector General, as well as on their property. This being known in England, the July packet brought orders that one or two regiments, then at Halifax, should be quartered in Boston. There was more than one riot during the summer, a Convention was held instead of the Assembly, which the Governor refused to summon, and a request was made at the September Town-Meeting that the inhabitants should "provide themselves with fire-arms that they may be prepared in case of sudden danger." By the 1st of October, however, twelve men-of-war were anchored in the harbour, and a thousand soldiers marched up King Street, some on their way to the Common or Faneuil Hall, but some to be quartered in the Town-House, both upstairs where the Assembly was accustomed to meet, and below in the Merchants' Exchange.

[LXXVIII.] "Boston July 11th 1768. Messrs Harrison Barnard & Spragg. [p. Capt.] Hull.

". . . We desir'd you in our last to get Insur'd for us £200 Sterling by Brigª Hannah Capt Robert Jarvis & we now desire you would get Insur-d for us £300 more in addition to the other on the same Vessel, being for Cash we propose to send by him if no Bills offer. You'l please therefore to make the Insurance Conditionall. Mrs Jane Gillam desires you would get Insur-d for her £79 Sterlg in cash she proposes to send you by the same vessel.

"From what has happened here relating to the Commissioners &c we think it not Improbable that New Difficulties may arise to the hurt if not to the ruin of Trade. We therefore desire that in case any Goods we have wrote for should not be purchas'd when you receive this & there should be an appearance of Violent Measures being likely to take place that you would not send them. Should a soldier be sent to America in support of yᵉ Commissioners the Consequences will be in all probability an Entire Stoppage of Trade. As our Intentions are to pay our Debts, let what will happen in a public way, we shall be careful not to Import any thing more Considerable till Things are more settled, which we heartily wish for. We wrote you some time ago that we should undertake the Payment of Mr Parsons Debt to you & that we had taken to ourselves the Goods sent him this spring. This has been occasioned not by our wanting any Goods for we were Crowded at the same time with our own—but as the Difficulties of Trade has so increased Lately & in all Probability like to be Greater we were desirous to secure to you

the payment of the Goods you sent him if not quite within season, yet sooner than what he would have been able to have made it. In order to this we have taken near two thousand Sterling of Goods Exclusive of those sent him this spring as we found that unless he sold them on Credit to persons who could not be depended upon that his vent was no ways equal to the Quantity he Imported. We found many of the Goods as well as some we had of Mr Greenleaf Excessive dear which undoubtedly was the occasion of the slow vent they had for them. In the small article of Fans we find the plain Ebony which were never charg'd at more than 4/ & the painted at 5/ are charg.d Mr Parsons at 4/3 & 5/6. We shall expect a Consideration therefore upon a Settlement. Had we not engaged for these goods our paym^{t} to you would probably be near if not quite as much in season as usual, but the Taking of three or four thousand pounds Sterling worth of Goods which we had no Occasion for & have now mostly by us will make our paym^{ts} this year beyond the usual Time but as our Importation will be but Trifling & we propose to send but for little for the Spring, we hope to lay not very long beyond the usual Time in your Debt, Please not to fail to send ours, Mr Greenleaf's, Mr Parsons' Acct Current by the first Opportunity."

[LXXIX.] "Boston July 11th 1768. Mess^{rs} Rayner Dawson & Co. Hall & Jarvis.

"Our last was 23rd of May soon after which we recd. what remained due from Mr William Greenleaf. . . . This Money we have now & are afraid shall be oblig.d to keep by us for your orders as Bills of Exch^{a} which are to be depended

upon are not to be had. If any offer more than what we want to purchase for ourselves we shall procure them for you. We have a Thousand Sterling Cash by us that we cant get Bills for & are now shipping Money to London on our own Acct, altho' we Expect some Loss in it."

[LXXX.] "Boston Aug 24th 1768. George Hayley Esq. Folger and Stone.

". . . Please to send us pr the very first good Opportunity abt 70 yds fine yellow Worsted Damask, a handsome large Flower, a bright full yellow, for Curtains and Window Cushions, for 4 Windows & to cover the Chairs. Please to send Fringes, Tossils & other Trimmings necessary therefor. Pray your care that it have a good Gloss & is of a bright Colr being for ourselves Please also to send with it 2 more Roles of the same Paper of which we desired you in our Letter of April last to send us Seven Roles, as we find we shant have enough. Please to be carefull that it be exactly the same, being to go with it."

[LXXXI.] "Boston Augt 31st 1768. Mr Geo. Hayley. Stone.

". . . Please to send us by the first vessel Six Handsome Stuff Back Chairs, cov.d with yellow worsted Damask Exactly the same as the 70 yds wrote for in the foregoing provided they can be had Compleat Covering & everything included @ 30/ or 33/ ps but if they must Exceed that price omitt them.

"Your freinds & humble Servts."

[LXXXII.] "Boston Sept^r 26. 1768. Mess^rs Nath & Robert Denison. Jacobson & Scott.

". . . The present Scituation of public affairs are such as that we shall not probably send you any Mem^o for a Long time unless the Government adopt another System of Politicks the Trade with the Colonies will infallibly be lost. We only want to be treated as Englishmen. We dont even wish for Independence; the King has not more loyall Subjects in his Dominions. All we Contest is the Right of parliam^t to tax us without our Consent. By the same Right that they can take a penny they can take our all. Unless this Claim is given up we are but Slaves & shall be lead to hate that people who we once Esteem.d as a part of ourselves.

"But whatever turn public affairs may take we hope Freinship & Regard with our particular Freinds will always mutually subsist."

[LXXXIII.] "Boston, Oct 3^rd 1768. Mr Robert Bird. Scott.

". . . Our Town is now full of Soldiers sent here to inforce Acts of parliamt destructive of our Rights."

[LXXXIV.] "Boston Oct. 4. 1768. Scott.

"The following is a Copy of a Letter sent to Mess^rs Lane Son & Frazier; Mess. Killy & Sime; Charles Broughton.

"Your favour of the 5^th Aug^t is now before us. We Esteem ourselves oblig-d to you for your offers of supplying us, but beside that we are already engaged with Mr Hayley who has served us to our Satisfaction, the present situation of

our public affairs forbid us to Engage in any further Importations.

"Unless a New System of Politicks is adopted Great Britain will Infallibly Loose her Trade to the Colonies.

"This Town is now full of Soldiers sent here to Enforce an Act of Parliamt subversive of our Natural Rights, & the Freedom of Englishmen. We Entertain no Thought of opposing the King's Troops. The People here retain their Loyalty & Affection for the King & dont even wish for an Independence but they are determind not to be the Slaves of their fellow subjects in Great Britain.

"As both Right & Reason as well as the True Interest of Great Britain loudly speak for us, we dont yet despair of Redress in a Legal Way. But if the Parliam^{t} are determind we shall be Slaves the Consequences must be the Immediate Loss of Trade, which all the Troops they can send wont prevent (but must rather hasten) the Loss of our Affection, which must certainly be of the highest Moment, & undoubtedly in the End the Loss of the Colonies themselves."

[LXXXV.] "Boston Oct. 21. 1768. Mr Edward Pitts Capt Cole & Johnson.

"This Encloses you J^{no} Butler's Bill on Watson Olive & Rashleigh for £120 Stg. out of which please to pass to our Credit £81 „ 18/ which is the exact Ball^{a} of your Acc^{t} by our Books. Please to pay Mess^{rs} Wright & Gill the Rem^{a} being Thirty Eight Pounds 2/.

"We have now done with Importations from Great Britain, her Trade with the Colonies must be Lost unless she adopts New Measures. The Town is now full of Soldiers.

This serves only to fix the Resolution of the people here who are determin-d to have as little Connection as possible with a State who contrary to the plainest principle of Right are Endeavouring to Enslave them. We dont even wish for an Independency, but we would not be Slaves.

"Should Times alter we should with pleasure resume a Correspondence which has been very agreeable to us."

[LXXXVI.] "Boston, Oct 29. 1768. Messrs Nath & Robert Denison

"This Day we recd yours of the 26 Augt. We are sorry you have been so alarm.d with a false Acct. The people here Entertain no Thoughts of Opposing the King's Troops, they dont even wish for an Independency if it was in their power. All they seek for is to be treated as Englishmen & not as Slaves. The whole Contest rests on this single point, whether the British Parliament has a Right to tax them (for the purpose of a Revenue, not as Regulating Trade) without their Consent. Untill this point is given up on One Side or the Other, there can no harmony subsist. It is our Opinion the Americans to the latest Generation will never give it up, being Sensible that if this Principle is Establish.d, they are reduc.d by the Utmost Injustice to a State of Slavery for if the Parliament of Britain can take a penny from us without our Consent they may rob us of our whole property. Is this freedom, is this the footing on which Englishmen stand? Surely not. Troops may compel us to the payment of any particular Duties that may be laid upon us, but all the Forces of Great Britain cant oblige an American to purchase a New

Coat when he chooses to wear an old one & it is in this way that we hope to find redress.

"We are now under an Engagement to Import no more Goods until we are releiv'd. Great Britain will certainly in a Great Measure if not totally loose her Trade to the Colonies unless she adopts a New System of Politicks, which we make no doubt she will soon find it her Interest to do—for it seems we have little Reason to Expect that any other Arguments will be Attended to.

"The whole Amount of the Duties here which have been Collected for the last Nine Months as we are told & believe, & on acct. of which so much Difficulty has arisen, is only Twenty Two Thousand Pounds Sterlg, out of which Sixteen Thousand have been paid away for Salaries &c, although the Commissioners have not as yet paid themselves their own Salaries which are £500 Sterlg a piece, so that Great Britain can never reasonably Expect to reap any Material Advantage in this Way, for should she add New Duties, or inhance those already laid, in order to Increase the Revenue, the Effect will rather be the Disuse of the Articles on which the Duties are laid, or the Manufacturing them among Ourselves. This shews itself at present in the Article of Tea, which Thousands of Families have allready thrown up y^e^ Use of, tho: it was what they were peculiarly attach-d to. In short, the people here will forego any Convenience rather than continue any Trade with a people who, as they Esteem it, are Endeavouring to deprive them of all they hold Valuable. The sending over Troops only serves to fix the people in their resolutions, & you may rely upon it, till the Soldiery are withdrawn all Importation of British Manufacture must Cease, for the Merchts here

will not send for these & the people Universally determine not to Consume any that may be sent ouer for Sale. We have not time to Enlarge but can only say we heartily wish for an End of these Troubles, when we shall with pleasure resume a Correspondence which has been very agreeable to us. In the mean time you may rely upon our Care to make our payments as they become due. We have allready sent you a Bill to replace that of Mr Spooner.

"We remain with the Greatest Esteem your Freinds & Servts."

[LXXXVII.] "Boston Nov. 18. 1768. Messrs Robert & Nathan Hyde. Deverson & Sheppard.

". . . The Town is now full of Soldiers, who tho: the Strictest Discipline is kept up among them so that few Disorders have happened, yet their being here serves only to Imbitter the Minds of the People and strengthen their resolutions . . ."

[LXXXVIII.] "Boston Dec. 9. 1768. Messrs Brice Wheeler & Higginson.

"This will be handed to you by Capt Bruce who acquaints us that you deal largely in India Goods, & tells us that he thinks it probable that it might be agreeable to you to supply us with those kind of Goods, & that you can do it on the very best Terms. If from what Capt Bruce should say of us, you should be inclin.d to supply us, we should esteem it a favour if you would acquaint us with your Terms & the particular kind of Goods you deal in. As we dont propose to pay a Commission we only expect from you Goods in your own

way. The present unhappy Situation of Political Matters between Great Britain & America prevents us at present from any Importation, but we hope the Government with you will soon discern its true Interest, & give up y^e^ thoughts of extorting a Tax which must alienate y^r^ Affections of the Americans from Great Britain, as they esteem such Arbitrary Taxes inconsistent w^th^. the very idea of Liberty. When this shall take place, which we hope will be soon, we shall resume our Trade.

"If you should desire a further Information of us than what you may have from Capt Bruce you may enquire of Mess^rs^ Wright & Gill, Stationers in London with whom we have dealt these many years.

"Please to inform us what Advantages or Discounts we may have for prompt pay."

[LXXXIX.] "Boston Aug 2^nd^ 1769. Mess^rs^ Brice Wheler & Higginson. pr Mr Eliot.

"Gentlemen, The foregoing we wrote to you by Capt Bruce whom probably before this you may have seen.

"The present Situation of Publick Affairs still debars us from sending for any Goods. However, as our Friend Mr Samuel Eliot was going to England, we have desir'd him to wait on you with this, to know your Sentiments upon the Subject of our former Letter.

"Tho: we have not had the Pleasure of an Acquaintance with you ourselves, yet as Cap^t^ Bruce has promis'd to make us known to you, we take the Freedom to recommend to you Mr Eliot, as a Gentleman who if you incline to deal to America we think you may credit with the greatest safety.

As he was brought up in our Store we know him throughly & are well satisfied of his Integrity, Industry & Capacity for Business in which he has been successful.

"We are etc."

[XC.] "Boston Aug 2nd. 1769. Mr Samuel Eliot.

"Sir, As you are now bound for England, we beg Leave in the first Place to assure you of our best Wishes, & hopeing that you may reap ev'ry Advantage of Pleasure & Profit that you can promise yourself. . . .

"In case publick Affairs take such a Turn as Goods may be sent, please to purchase for us two compleat sets of finest Blue & White India China, each set to consist of 12 cups and 12 saucers, 8 Coffee cups with Handles, 2 Tea Pots, a Cream Pot, a Sugar Dish, a Slop Bowl, 2 small Plates for Sugar Dish & Slop Bowl, a Tea Canister, Spoon Boat & Coffee Pot. 2 dozen Wine-Glasses for Mr Payne like the Pattern. . . . We send by you 5 light Johannes, & 5 light Guineas to purchase the Things for our own Use. If you send the other Things, please also to send a good Glass to view Prospects thro', (with a Number of good Prints) for John Amory, of the sort you best like, that requires the least Trouble to fix & can be lookt into with most Ease. He thinks the concave looking Glass may do best, but leaves it to your Judgement.

"We are with much Esteem &c."

[XCI.] "Boston, Aug. 18. 1769. Mr. Thos. Mifflin.
p. Post [to Philadelphia].

"Sir

"We were shown by Mrs Eliot a Paragraph of a

Letter you wrote her husband, who sail'd for England last Week.

"As Mr Eliot's Letter to you to w^ch^ yours is an Answer was wrote you partly by our Desire, & as we must confess ourselves still somewhat in the Dark as to your Sentiments upon the Subject upon w^ch^ he wrote, we take the Freedom of Troubling you with this, to request a further Explanation of the Matter.

"We observe in your Committee's Letter to Dr Franklin [then agent in London for several of the Colonies] they intimate that nothing less than the repeal of all the Revenue Acts will quiet the Minds of y^e^ Americans.

"But in the Agreement of the Merchants, tho' they use the word Acts (in y^e^ Plural) yet they only specify a Number of Articles, all of w^ch^ are comprised in one Act.

"We observe that you say in your Letter that the New Yorkers have confounded the Tea & Glass Acts. This Expression of yours makes us something in Doubt whether you may not have conceiv'd that Duties were laid upon Tea & upon Glass, Paper & Colours, by two distinct Acts, otherwise we are at a Loss to know what you would mean by saying the Yorkers had confounded them. If you'l examine, Sir, you'l find that they are all concluded in one Act. We are sensible, Sir, that the Agreement at Virginia runs in the same Terms as your's Vizt: 'Until the Acts laying Duties on Tea, Glass, Paper &c are repeal'd.' It appears extraordinary to us that if the Intention was not to Import till all the Revenue Acts, that is till the Act laying Duties on Tea, Glass &c, & the Act commonly call'd the Molasses Act were repeal'd, that they should as it were carefully avoid mentioning any of the many

Articles tax'd by the Molasses Act & at the same time mention almost every Article in the Tea Act. There can be no Doubt that the Molasses Act is as much a Revenue Act as the Tea Act, & indeed it is said expressly in the Body of the Act to be for the Purposes of a Revenue, but had it not been [said] the very Nature of it determines it to be such as it lays Duties on many Articles of English Produce, & so cannot be conceiv'd as purely for the Regulating of Trade. These two Acts are all the Revenue Acts we know of. Now Sir, what we desire of you is to let us know, whether if the Tea Glass & Paper Act only, should be repeal'd & even tho' the Molasses Act or at least so much of it as appears purely to relate to a Revenue should not be repeal'd, *you expect to have your Goods sent*. If so, please to inform us what was intended by making use of the word Acts instead of Act. In case you should not be entirely satisfied what the Intention of the Merchants is, we should esteem it a Fav'r if you would acq^{t} yourself from the Committee & favour us with a Line by the Return of the Post which will confer an obligation on your most humble Servants &c.

"P.S. The Act we mean by the Molasses Act is of the 4th: of George 3rd:, made in Nov^{br}: 1763, laying Duties on Molasses, Sugars, Wines, Coffee etc.

"P.S. Please to acquaint us whether the Merchants have sent conditional Orders for Goods. If so, whether you have one form prescribed for all the Merchants to write by or whether each one expresses the Conditions in the Manner he pleases. If you have one Form for the whole, pray send a Copy of that Form."

[XCII.] "Boston Aug 18. 1769. Mr Samuel Eliot.
p. Bartlett.

"SIR

". . . Little has occur'd since your Absence worth Notice, W^t has most been the subject of Conversation has been the Publication of the Names of some Persons who had imported contrary to the Agreement, & w^ch you'l find in the Papers. Among them was Mess^rs Clarke & Son, who were so distress'd about it that they came to the Committee, begging that something might be publish'd to take off the odium cast upon them, & consenting to deliver up their Teas to the Committee.

"You'l find Mr. Mein in his Paper of Yesterday to avenge himself has publish'd the Names of the Importers in one of the Spring Vessels & declares he shall go on to publish the Rest; & altho' his Party can avail themselves but little this way, as the Articles imported by the signers were either permitted or of little Consequence yet it has occasion'd the highest Resentment against him in the Breasts of most People, and no doubt will prove the greatest Injury to him in his Business.

"By the last Post Mrs Eliot (who is very well & now writes you) rec^d a Letter from Mrs Mifflin in answer to yours. Mrs Eliot show'd us a Paragraph w^ch related to the matter you wrote about, but tho' he says much on the Subject we are still as much in the dark as ever. It appears to us that he takes the Duties on Tea to have been laid in one Act & those on Glass in another. However, we have this Day wrote him ourselves on y^e Subject, so clearly that we think he cannot mistake us.

"Yours &c."

[XCIII.] " Boston. Sep. 21. 1769. Mr. Samuel Eliot. Cap. Nicoll.

" The foregoing is Copy of our last since which we have recd. an answer from Mr Mifflin who writes us that the Merch^ts at Philadel^a in General had thought that the Tea & Glass &c were in two distinct Acts; that they had committed a capital Error in not having a Regard to the Molasses Act, that it Probably yet would be taken into Consideration &c.

" The Committee here have wrote to their Committee on the subject, & as Probably an Endeavour will be made to Accomplish this we expect it will be sum time before leave can be had for sending even Conditional Orders. The temper of people is full as high if not higher agst the Importers &c as when you left us, upon the whole we cant think it will be your Interest (in the long Run) to counteract the Design by bringing Goods till there is a general Importation. We shall write you again on this Subject if anything New offers.

" We would not have you send the things for our own use unless there is a general Importation.

" We suppose you have talked before this with Mr Hayley on the subject of Mr Winslow Taylor. We should be glad you would endeavour to know of him whether he has wrote on the subject. If you find he has not agreed to acquit him on receiving his Proportion, perhaps you may be able to prevail upon him to do it, representing to him that unless he is acquitted he must be lost to the World as he cannot engage in any thing. In this you'l do a great kindness to Mrs Taylor as well as particularly oblige us.

" Yours."

[XCIV.] "Boston Oct. 21. 1769. Mr Samuel Eliot.
p. Capt Lyde.

"Sir

". . . Things still remain as uncertain as ever with Regard to Importation. An attempt is now making to obtain a Subscription not to import until all the Revenue Acts are repeal'd; whether or not it will take Place is uncertain. Should it obtain here, it will no doubt be on Condition (tho' it is not express'd in the Agreement) that Philadelphia & York join in it. We have not as yet sign'd it, tho' a great Number of Hands are already to it, but have assur'd the Committee that if it should become in our Opinion sufficiently general we shall sign it—w^ch^ we shall be careful not to do if such openings are left as have been heretofore for particular Merch^ts^ such as Mr Jackson &c to carry on an exclusive Trade. The Influence of those who are against Importation is now greater than ever you knew it, w^ch^ you may suppose from their having induced ev'ry Person who before stood out to come in except Mein & McMasters. There appears at present no Probability of Orders being sent for Goods for the Spring (ev'n after January) unless the Tea Act is repeal'd & perhaps not unless both Acts. Altho' our Int'rest may be concern'd, yet we doubt not you'l beleive us when we assure you that we think that it will not be your or any of the N. E. Gentlemen's Int'rest who are with you to import untill the Trade is open for all. . . ."

[XCV.] "Boston Nov. 20. 1769. Mr Sam^l^ Eliot. Smith.

"Sir, We had the Pleasure a few Days ago of hearing of

your safe Arrival. We are now forming our Mem° for Goods w^ch^ we shall send you but whether the Condition of their being sent will be the Repeal of both Acts or Not, is still uncertain. We are daily expecting to hear the Resolutions of York & Philadelphia on the Subject. We cant but repeat w^t^ we wrote before, that we think it absolutely necessary both for you & us to go with the Tide, indeed there is no stemming it. If any Importation should be made contrary to the general Agreement the Goods will be housed. Mr Richard Smith, we are told, assur'd the Committee that altho' as his goods are purchas'd they must come, yet that when they arrive he shall submit them.

"As soon as our Papers are compleat, w^ch^ may be in a Week or ten Days we shall forward them—

"Yours."

The following has descended among John's private papers:

"Boston, 1768. Mr Jn° Amory to Jn° S. Copley D^r^.

To his own Portrait, half Length £14. 0. 0. Nov. 24^th^ 1769 Paid as pr Receipt in Book."[177]

Before the end of November John Hancock was writing[178] to a London merchant of "the late Importations made here by Several Persons of this Town, which circumstances taking place at the only important moment that it should have been avoided, I must say Reflects great [word omitted] on the Importers. After many considerations of the Trade on this subject, the final Resolution was that nothing less would atone and be Satisfactory than the Refusing the goods to London. The owners consented & this ship Scott has all the goods on

board & I wish them a safe Landing in London. . . . These Returned goods are regularly cleared our Custom House & I can't think there can be the Least Difficulty in entering the ship in London. Should any arise, Trusting your Interposition to accomodate matters."

[XCVI.] "Boston Dec 5. 1769. Mr Thomas Owen.

"In case the Act imposing Duties on Tea, Glass, Paper &c should be totally repeal'd please to send us three Hogsheads of Felt Hats, & Insure them. Let them be sorted from 10/ to 30/ a doz. a Large Proportion from 10/ to 14/.

"Yours

"P.S. Please to charge them to Amorys & Taylor as we shall take Mr Joseph Taylor into Business with us."

[XCVII.] "Boston Dec. 27. 1769. Mr. Samuel Eliot. Hall.

"Sir

"Our last was pr Capt Chadwell (viâ Hull) Duplicate of w^ch^ you will receive p. this Conveyance.

"Be so good as to get made for Mrs Amory 5 p^r^ of Women's Pumps of the size of the shoe now sent you pr Capt Hall, let them be every way as large as the Shoe sent, having just such a Heel.

"Vizt 1 pr brocaded Silk either yellow or Murray ground much cover'd with lively Flowers.

"1 pr blk Satin.

"3 prs plain Blk Russel.

"Send back the old Shoe with them.

"Please to send us 2 doz. Squares London Crown Glass 15/$_{\wedge}$ by 11 In^{s} 11 doz. do. 11 by 11 Ins. Be careful to have them strait as well as clear being to mend the Windows in the new house when broke. The above are to be sent when the Tea Act is totally repeal'd.

"Mrs Eliot has sent us about £280 Stlg to be invested for you in Exchange which has suddenly become scarce even at 9/2 for 1. However we hope to light of some soon to our Minds.

"The Temper here is more violent than ever against any Importers. Great quantities of goods which were sent by Mr. Jones, are now reshipping in Capt. Hood for Bristoll.

"We are persuaded that the Distress which those who have imported Goods contrary to the Agreement have met with, will deter ev'ry one from sending for any from hence, but upon the Terms generally agreed upon. . . . Nothing more to add. We remain with esteem

"Yours.

"Mrs Amory desires y^{e} favour of you to bring with you for her a sett of the best blue & white Long China Dishes if can get them Handsome & @ a reasonable price."

The Non-Importation Agreement of 1768 expired by the 1st of January, 1770, before a new one had been signed. Some few persons at once tried, in defiance of all warnings, to renew their trade in imported goods. The Lieutenant-Governor's sons were of the number, and this embittered the town's continual strife against Hutchinson. But more, the hooting of importers in the streets led to fights, the "rough" element

was let loose and took up the amusement of baiting the soldiers, and finally on a moonlight March evening a senseless quarrel, between some idle young fellows and a sentinel, grew to a riot in King Street of hundreds of people, some throwing snowballs, lumps of ice, and pieces of wood. It lasted half an hour before the handful of soldiers under attack fired on their assailants, killing three, mortally wounding two more, and injuring others. This dispersed the mob, but filled the citizens with indignation, and gave Samuel Adams his opportunity to demand the removal of all the troops to the Castle as a necessity for the peace of the Province. Before the next evening they were gone.

[XCVIII.] "Boston, March 13th 1770. Mr Samuel Eliot. Robson.

"SIR,

"Altho' we much doubt whether this may meet you yet as there is a Chance, we could not neglect to send you the Prints of this Week, wch contain the Particulars of a dreadful Slaughter that has been committed in our streets by the Soldiers, wch has exasperated not only this but the neighbouring Towns also in such a Manner as that had not Colo. Dalrymple (who has gain'd himself great Honnour as well as the good Will of the Town by his prudent Conduct) had he not, we say, consented to move away the Troops, there is no judging what might have been the consequence. There is Reason to fear it might have been terrible. This event will no Doubt contribute to increase that Spirit wch before this has risen to a great Height.

"You'l find by the Papers that many Towns are ent'ring

into Engagemts not to purchase of Importers. If this should become general as it possibly might, it will be a finishing Stroke to their Trade. If the Acts are not repeal'd it appears to us that what has been so long attempted, in vain, the Disuse of Tea will be effected, & that English Goods in general (except some few particular Kinds) will be very dull, as a surprising Quantity is made here, & Passion for home-made Goods prevails more & more.

"We are now selling off, tho' but very slowly, the Remains of our Goods, which altho' there are many good Goods among them we put only at 11 for one.

"You'l find by the Papers that our Brother Payne is shot thro' the Arm, the Ball struck between the Wrist & the Elbow of his right Arm, broke & much shatter'd the small Bone. However he is now comfortable & in a fair way to do well."

In May Mrs. Rebecca Amory died, having made, it would appear, a complimentary bequest to the Pastor of the Brattle Street Church, a vehement patriot. He writes[179] to her son:

"Mr Cooper presents his kind Regards to Mr Amory— He cannot but very sensibly feel so kind a Notice, from so worthy a Person as the late Mrs Amory. He takes Part with the Family in the Loss of so dear a Friend, & in the Comfort they have upon this affecting Occasion; & begs they would accept his most friendly Wishes.

"Saturday 12. May.

"To Mr Thos Amory."

Mr. T. C. Amory speaks of a flat stone in the Granary

Burying Ground a few rods from Park Street, inscribed, "The Tomb of Rebecca Amory."

[XCIX.] "Boston June 11. 1770. P. Jarvis.

"Our mutual Friend Mr Sam[l] Eliot having acquainted us that he has left in your hands a Mem[o] of Goods to be executed for us, We take the earliest opportunity to assure you that we shall readily comply with any terms of payment he may have settled with you & that we esteem ourselves oblig-d to you for your readiness to open a Correspondence with you when so much Strangers to you. At Present we can give you no direction for the Execution of the Mem[o] left with you, but they must rest upon the old plan left with you by Mr Eliot. We can scarcely form a Judgment when the Trade will be open. We think ourselves happy in not having any goods sent us this Spring, as they must have been reshipp'd to our great Loss. Yours &c. -P.S. In writing to us please not to direct to Amorys & Taylor but to Jon[a] & Jn[o] Amory unless the Trade is open & Goods come, as we dont take him in until then, & let your Letters at all times be put into the Ships bags bound for Boston, some of which is almost always up at Levers New England Coffee House, Thread Needle Street, London, as their coming any other way is expensive.

"The forgoing Letter was sent to

"Vizt:

"Benjamin & John Bower
"Thos & W[m] Douglas
"Nath & Faulkner Phillips
} Manchester

" Joseph Shapland
" John & Francis Bull
" Sam[l] Taylor & Brother
" John Gibbons & Sons
} Bristol.
" Young Auchinloss & Lang—Glasgow.
" Alexander Kincaid, Edingburg.
" J[no]. Tilloch, Glascow.
" John Priestley & Sons, Gt. St Helen's, London.
" Joseph Antt, Sheffield.
" James Whawell, Stockport.
" Thomas Aston, Birmingham.
" Smith, Harris & Hatfield, Whitelock Bread St, London.
" Dowlett Brett & Hardingham, Norw[ch] London.
" Catharine & John Cock, London.
" Tho Hartley, London.
" Harrison & Wilson, Do.
" Richard Prime & Co, Do.
" Benj. Eyre & Co. Do.
" William Barnard & Son, Norwich."

[C.] " Boston June 25[th] 1770. Mr J[no] Mathewson.

" Sir

" Inclosed is a State of your Notes of Hand as they now stand, by which you'l perceive the whole has been due a long Time; We must beg of you to exert yourself to discharge them as soon as possible.

" We are settling all our old Affairs & collecting in our Debts, being determined whenever the Trade shall be opened to carry it on upon a new footing as then we shall take a Partner with us in the Business.

"We should be glad you would let us have what Money you now have by you as at this Time it would be of peculiar Service.

"We remain &c."

The next letters show the effect of Lord North's coming into power this year, and repealing all the recent Acts. He took off all Townshend's duties except the one on tea, keeping this to insure the acknowledgment of Parliament's right over the Colonies, and hereby making himself ridiculous in the eyes of the theory-despising Burke.

[CI.] Oct. 11th, 1770, John Amory writes, "The Trade is now open except for Duty Articles." [CII.] On the 29th the firm write, "Trade is now open except for Teas." [CIII.] On the 30th they give an order to Messrs. Pearse, Pryce & Dent (by Lyde & Scott) for "30 half Bbs of Powder, markt F, a little brighted like that you made for Mr Eliot & us," to come "p. first Spring Ship," directed to "Amorys & Taylor." "The Merchants here have determined to open the Trade with G. B., & to import from thence all Goods as usuall, excepting such on which there is or may be a Duty laid—"

[CIV.] "Oct 29th 1770. Mr Saml Elam P. Lyde & Scott.

"As Liberty has at last been given for the Sale of the Goods which were stored, we have now to acquaint you that we shall credit you for the foot of your Invoice of Cloths &c., amount £217 „ 16 „ 6, Stlg & now remit in part pay there-

for Josiah Barker & Co. Bill for £150 Stlg. on Harrisons & Ansley, & shall send the Remainder soon.

"Yours &c."

Early in 1771, Spain seized England's Falkland Islands.

[CV.] The letters of Feb. 7th, 1771, say, in giving orders: "In case there should be a War, we hope your Care to ship the Goods in some Vessell coming under Convoy, where the Insurance will be lessened: as also to be careful that the underwriters are safe Men."

[CVI.] To a Debtor in America: "You have suffered already a Loss of 7½ p. Ct. in the Exchange without any Gain to us, & should a Spanish War take Place may suffer as much more. . . ." On January 31st, 1772, the firm becomes "Amory, Taylor and Rogers."

[CVII.] "Boston, April 19. 1773. Messrs Harrison & Ansley.
Pr Symmes & Calahan.

". . . We shall take it as a favour if you will purchase for us the following Articles:

"½ doz Silver Table Spoons, handles reversed, the Spoons to be quite plain, not cut nor ingraved.

"A lanthorn for an Entry exactly like that lately sent to our Jona Amory.

"½ doz. Woms white Kid Gloves, size of Pattern, Vizt. 3 pr to be glazed & 3 pr unglazed.

"½ doz. Woms white Kid mitts, Vizt 3 pr glazed & 3 pr unglazed.

"2 pr Wom^{n} fine white thread (not Holland) mitts, middling size.

"1 pr black Sattin Pumps, size of Pattern, to be bought of Jno. Canm near Bow Church.

"Also a Silver watch, as good as can be got for six Guin^{s}.

"Capt Symmes will also deliver you a Silk Gown which please to get dyed as directed & send back by first opportunity."

[CVIII.] "Boston 20 April 1773. Mess^{rs} Robert & Tho. Wilson. Pr Symmes & Calahan.

". . . With the Goods we recd. two Gloucester Cheeses, for which accept our Thanks.

". . . We desire the favour of you to buy for us one handsome Copper Tea Urn to contain Six Quarts with Heater &c. Also the two following Books: Kau Kiou Choaan, or the pleasing History; a translation from the Chinese Language, printed by Dodsley.

"Travels of the Jesuits into various Parts of the World particularly China & the East Indies, 2 Vols. oct^{o} 2nd Edition illustrated with Maps & Sculptures &c. Printed for T. Piety, at the Rose & Crown in Pater Noster Rowe.

"We remain &c."

[CVIII.] "June 14. 1773. Mess^{rs} Harrison & Ansley.

". . . We have still great Complaints here of the Dulness of Business, & the little Profit it is done for. You would not readily believe English Goods in almost any Circumstances

would be sold as they are in this Place daily. The first Cost without any Charges is not an uncommonly low Price. Very lately there was sold within our knowledge many trunks of Calicoes, & of the most saleable kind too, at 7½ p Ct Disct from the Sterling Cost. The Vendue Houses are the best Accustomed Places where large Assortments of fresh Goods are constantly selling off. Irish Linnens in particular which were formerly a very good Article, are now generally sold at such Prices as allow hardly any Profit. However we hope Times will mend.

"Notwithstanding the great Scarcity of Money Exchange is only 2½ p. Ct under Par. The great Fall in the price of Pot Ashes will we are told greatly lessen the Manufacture of it, as many of the Country People esteem their ashes worth more for Manure for their Lands, than the Pot Ash Makers can afford to give them."

[CIX.] "June 28. 1773. Our Josh Taylor was in London about this time twelvemonth. . . ."

[CX.] "Aug 2. 1773. To Messrs Harrison & Ansley: We desire you would send us pr first Opportunity, One handsome Turkey Carpet 14½ Feet by 12½. We request your particular care in choosing this as it is for our own Use. . . ."

[CXI.] "Aug 6. 1773. To the same. . . . Please to send us pr first opportunity Curtains for four Windows of stampt Cotton like a pattern which Cpt Hood will deliver you. Each Curtain must be 2¾ yds & one Nail in Length, & 1½ yd in

Width on the boards, fringed with green or white as you shall think most proper for a lower Room. . . ."

[CXII.] "Sept 17. 1773. To Dowling & Brett. We thank you for your kindness in purchasing the Muffs, Combs etc which doubt not will turn out right."

CHAPTER XII.

Letter-Books, 1773-1776.

THE next two letters were written within five days after the Boston Tea-Party. Francis Rotch, whose bill the first encloses, is no doubt the young owner of the "Dartmouth," the first of the three tea-ships to come into port. One of the three was commanded by John Coffin, a nephew of Mrs. Thomas Amory. Captain Loring, mentioned in the second letter as cast ashore on Cape Cod, had on board not only the Amory firm's goods but also more tea.

[CXIII.] "Boston Dec. 20. 1773. Mr Mark Huish.

"Sir

"The foregoing of 4th instant we confirm copy of our last, & inclose you Duplicate of Fras. Rotch's Bill on Buxton & Enderby for £57 Stg.

"We have now to request you would send us the following Articles pr the very first Opportunity desiring your particular Attention as they are for our own Use, Vizt.

"6 pr Woms fine & thick Cotton Hose, 4 thrd in Heel 5/
"6 pr. Do. Thread do. do. 4/6

"6 pr Men's best black worsted d° 4 thr^{d}. of the inclos'd Pattern

"Put in a Paper by themselves & mark'd T. N.

"12 pr Wom^{n} Cotton Hose, 4 thr^{d} in Heel, not to exceed 60/ to be put in a Bundle & mark'd R. P.

"6 pr Wom^{n} Cotton Hose to cost 5/ to be large & 4 thrd in y^{e} Heel, & markt A A.

"Trusting you will excuse our thus troubling you we remain &c."

[CXIV.] "Boston Dec 21st 1773. Mess^{rs} Harrisons & Ansley P. the Hayley, Scott & Capt Shaley.

"The foregoing of 6th Inst we confirm copy of our last, since which we have receiv'd your favor of 30th Sep^{r} pr Loring who is unfortunately cast ashore on Cape Cod. Whether our Goods are safe we have not yet been advised.

"We now inclose you Duplicate of the sixteen Dutch Bills on Middelbourg amt 7838 G. 8 Str. & Eight on Amsterdam 1535 G. 7 Str. as also Francis Rotch's 2nd Bill on Buxton & Enderby for £338 Stg. which please to pass to our Credit. We have not receiv'd the Duplicates of the two small Bills sent you pr the Dolphin Scott but shall forward them as soon as they come to hand. We have deliver'd to Capt Scott a small Box directed for you containing 12 doz. of Trunk Locks which we request the favor of you to send to Mess^{rs} Matthew & Thos Aston of Bread Street which they are to take the charge of for their Friends Messrs Lee Wright & James of Birmingham, as also four Women's Shoes which we beg the favor of you to send to Mr Kame to have several

pair made agreeable to the Directions which we trust you will pay for & send pr the first Opportunity. As they are for our Family's use, we should be glad Mr Kame would take particular Care to follow the Directions & mark the Bundles with the several Names that there may be no mistake. The Shoes are in the Box with the Hinges. We shall write you pr Capt Shapley by whom we shall send you a small parcel of Bees Wax.

"Interim we remain with much Esteem
"Your Friends & Servants——"

[CXV.] "Boston, Jan 7. 1774. Messrs Harrisons & Ansley.

"This will be handed you by Mr John Whitworth, who we beg leave to recommend to your notice. As you may be led to think from his Business having been so soon drawn to a Close that we have found him wanting in his Attention to it or his Capacity for Conducting it, In Justice to him we assure that we ascribe his want of Success altogether to the difficulty of the Times & the almost impossibility of carrying on the English Goods Trade to any profit."

[CXVI.] "Jan. 7. 1774.

"Exchange has lately been with us extremely scarce & high which is the Reason we do not now remit you the whole Balance, but hope soon to do it. Wishing you many happy Returns of the Season

"We remain with Esteem."

[CXVII.] "Jan. 25. 1774 to Harrisons & Ansley

". . . . Exchange is at 2½ p. Ct above Par, & scarce at

that, but Money is much scarcer, and Goods are sold as low as ever tho' we expect there will be an Alteration in Trade, & Goods will be sold to a greater Profit than they have been of late. Woolen Goods (& such as are not badly charg'd) have been sold at 15 p. Ct under the Nett Sterling Cost, with ev'ry Advantage allow'd, such as 5 p. Ct for the Hall-Measure, Freight, Insurance &c paid——but we expect this Game will not continue long.

"We should be glad you would advise us how it would answer to remit you Gold, & whether Johannes, Guineas & Moidores which lack a few Grains will pass by Tale, as we think it would be better for us to remit Gold than give two pr Ct above Par for Exchange.

"We have now to desire you would procure & send us p the first Opportunity the following Spanish Books. Vizt.

"A Dictionary, Grammar & three other Spanish Books in Prose, in a good Style, proper for Learners; as also purchase a State Lottery Ticket & advise us of the Number, which please to have recorded at the office in the Name of Samuel Rogers, Boston, New England. . . . Please to send us a good Clock, the best you can get for 8 or 10 Guineas suitable for a Compting Room, being intended to stand upon a Shelf or Table, to be in a square Case, 12 or 15 Ins. high. We mean the common sort, not those which are supported by Images or other Figures. If upon Enquiry of the Clockmaker he should tell you that this kind do not go so true as the common House-Clocks in long Cases, please to send us one of that kind of the same Price; However should prefer the first sort if they go as well. . . ."

[CXVIII.] "Feb. 12. 1774. Harrisons & Ansley.

". . . . At present we have only to desire you to purchase for us One good plain Silver Watch, without ornament, but of the best Construction for regular Going; the Price to be within Eight Guineas."

[CXIX.] "Mar. 14. 1774. Robt & Thos Wilson

". . . . Please also to send us as good an Alarum Clock as you can procure for 2 or 2½ Guineas, being for our own Use, with Directions for the Management of it. One of a small size would be preferred being design'd for a Bed Chamber."

[CXX.] "Boston N. E. Mar 29. 1774. Mr Isaac Dent.

"Sir

"Your Favor of the 24th Decr with the Powder pr Gorham came duly to hand, amt £52 1. 3 Stg which is to your Credit. The remaining 25 Half Barrels we expect will soon reach us.

"We have now to desire you would send us by the first good Conveyance after the Receipt of this twenty five Half Barrels of Powder F, a little brighted; and in about six Weeks after that Vessel shall have sail'd twenty five Half Barrels more, and about six Weeks after that send a further Quantity of twenty five Half Barrels, making in the whole seventy five Half Barrels. We rely upon your Care to send us the best of Powder, which will be a Means of increasing our Dealings. We would have you ship these several Parcels by Vessels which constantly use the Trade; & as the Value will

be but small, we would not have you insure, but will take the Risque upon ourselves.

"We remain &c."

[CXXI.] "Ap 6. 1774 To Harrisons & Ansley. . . . [sending] bills for £400 Stg. which please to pass to our Credit.

"Please to send us p first Opportunity four Window Curtains made of Saxon blue silk & worsted Damask in the newest Fashion without a Cornish. The Length of the Curtains must be Nine Feet, the Length of the Laths four feet six Inches."

[CXXII.] "Ap. 27. 1774. To Robt & Tho Wilson

". . . . We return you thanks for the generous Parcel of News Papers you sent, which were to us a very acceptable Present."

The reply from the English Government to the destruction of the tea consisted in four Acts of Parliament. The first one closed the port of Boston. The second changed the Massachusetts Charter in the matter of elections to the Council; abolished town-meetings for anything but choosing town-officers, unless by special permission of the Governor; and gave the Governor also power to appoint and remove Sheriffs, who were to return juries. The third bill transferred the place of trial of magistrates, revenue officers, and soldiers indicted for murder or other capital offence to Nova Scotia or Great Britain. The fourth legalized the quartering of troops in Boston, and ordered judgment on the leading Whigs, especially Samuel Adams. General Gage was appointed to supersede

Hutchinson as Governor, the latter being summoned to England to give advice to the King. Gage arrived May 13th; Hutchinson sailed June 1st, respectful addresses having been presented to him, signed by one hundred & twenty gentlemen and merchants of Boston, among whom were Elizabeth Amory's brother Nathaniel Coffin and three of his sons.[180]

[CXXIII.] "May 20th 1774. To Messrs Harrisons & Ansley. Capt Gencham [?] & Hill.

"Our last was the 26th Ultº, since which we have received your several favors of 24th Feb, 9th 22nd 30th March, & 2nd April, to which we have not time now to reply, the Goods as far as we have opened them have been agreeable to Invoice. We now inclose you the following Bills of Exchª which please pass to our Credit. Vizt:

Jnº Rowe Esqr on Peter Balchin and Co. . . .	£400
Timº Ruggles on Irael Mauduit	16 12
Thos Davis on Ommaney & Co.	15 —
	£431 12

Say four Hundred & thirty one Pounds, 12/

"You might reasonably expect us to say much on these dark times but indeed we are not capable of saying anything material at present. The only hopes of the People here seems to be from the stoppage of the Trade, but whatever may be the Event you may rely upon our utmost Endeavors to pay you & the rest of our Friends. The Bag being just ready to be taken down prevents our adding any thing further at present

but hope shortly to write you more fully when we shall have learnt the Sentiments of the other Colonies."

[CXXIV.] "Boston May 30. 1774. Mr Mark Huish P. Callahan.

"SIR,

"Your favors of 26th March & 11th Feby have duly come to hand, which as far as we have opened them are agreeable to Invoice. The Present serves to acquaint you that as by the late severe Act of Parliament (which cruelly involves the innocent in the same fate with the Guilty) our Port is to be shut up, we would have you send the Hosiery order'd in March last to Messrs Harrisons and Ansley, London, advising them with the Amount, in order to be insur'd & shipt to us at Salem, where one or more of us shall be oblig'd to resort.

"As our Port is to be blocked up in a few Days, everything here is in great confusion, & at present we have time only to add that altho' the unjustifiable Violences committed here might lead us to expect the Resentment of Government, yet there is scarcely any one, even among the highest Tories that does not consider the last Act of Parliament as most cruel & inhumane as it involves the innocent & Guilty without Distinction in the same Calamity. There does not appear any great Lothness in the People here to make Satisfaction to the India Company, but delay making an Proposals, not knowing what Concissions may be expected from them.

"A Subordination to Parliament in Regard to Regulation of Trade is almost universally consider'd here as necessary for the Good of both Countries, but we conceive no Sufferings will induce the Colonies to acknowledge a Right in Parliament

to tax us at Pleasure. In hopes of seeing better Days, we remain with much Esteem

"Your most humble Servants.

"P.S. Let what may happen shall not fail to exert ourselves to pay our just Debts."

[CXXV.] "Boston May 30. 1774. Messrs Harrison & Ansley. Callahan & Calef.

"GENTLEMEN,

"We now write in the greatest Hurry; as our Port is to be block'd up in a Day or two every thing here is in confusion. You will therefore be good enough to excuse our not writing particularly & fully on our distressful situation, & it is indeed extremely difficult to form any Judgment of the Issue. Those who have the lead here buoy up the Minds of the People with the Expectation of the Concurrence of the other Colonies in some measures for our Relief & think it is best to take no step without their Advice & Co-operation.

"Although we by no means wish to act counter to the general voice of the Colonies with regard to continuing our Importations, yet Nothing to the Contrary being as yet concluded upon, we desire you woud forward to Salem the Goods we before order'd, together with those in the inclosed Memo . . . We shall be at Salem to receive our Fall Goods. . . ."

[Here follows a repetition of what was said in the letter of the same date to Mr. Mark Huish on the subject of the Port Bill.]

[CXXVI.] "Boston June 20. 1774. Messrs Harrisons & Ansley. Via Providence—pr the Captain Man of War.

"GENTN

"Since our writing last the spirit of Resentment against Great Britain on Acct. of the Injuries done us & still expected, has arisen to such an Height that a most solemn Covenant not to purchase any British Goods is now signing fast through the Country. Should it become universal as there is Reason to apprehend it may, an End will be put to our Sales. Besides which the Difficulty of collecting Debts which we already experience, may if the Alteration which is expected should be made in our Courts of Justice by a new mode of appointing Juries which will not be easily submitted to, arise to such an Height as to render the Collecting our Debts for a Time in a manner impossible, especially as great Numbers may think that the Good of their Country will oblige them to with-hold their Hands from paying the Merchant here that he may not make his Remittances to Great Britain, from which they hope the sooner to be reliev'd. This being the Case we have now to desire you would with-hold the Execution of our Orders & forward us only those Articles which are actually shipt, & such others (if there be any) which you may have procur'd for us & cannot without much injuring yourselves keep back.—We are extreme sorry for the Trouble we give you: but such is the unhappy situation of our Affairs, & the Uncertainty of what Lengths the People may go to as to induce us to think it will be much for your Interest as well as our own not to have the Goods sent.

"There appears no Disposition at present to open our Port,

if the giving up of our Liberties must be the Consequence. The Payment for the Tea & making Good the Damages would be no Obstacle as it is the general Opinion that it ought to be done—but even this Step they don't chuse to take, till they know the Result of a Congress of all the Colonies which is to be held at Philadelphia in August or the beginning of September.

"This you will receive by a Vessel from Providence having just been inform'd that one will sail from that Port, & as the Post goes out so soon that we have not time to write to any of our Friends respecting this Matter we have to request the Favor of you to shew this Letter to our Friends Messrs Wilsons, Wright & Gill, Dowling Brett & Hardingham, Richard Prime & Co., Smith Harris & Hatfeild, W^m^ Priestley, Jones Havard & Jones, Edw^d^ Good & Co, & Townsend & Giffin, with our best Respects to those Gentlemen; hoping they will excuse our not writing p. this Conveyance, but desiring they would pay the same Attention to it as if it had been address'd to each House in particular.

"We hope that if for a Time you find us slack in our Remittances you will not impute it to Want of Attention in us. Industry shall [not] be wanting in us to remit you as fast as shall be in our Power, & that whatever Turn Affairs may take we shall consider ourselves bound in Honor & Conscience to pay our Debts in England to our utmost Power.

"We remain &c.

"P.S. Inclos'd is Duplicate of Hugh & Alex Wallace's Bill on Bourdieu & Chollet No 126 for £378 15 8½ Stg."

[CXXVII.] "Boston July 5th 1774. Messrs Harrisons & Ansley. P. the Captain Man of War.

"GENTLEMEN

"The foregoing is Copy of our last via Providence, since which the Face of our public Affairs has become still more gloomy & threatening.

"You will see by the public Papers that a solemn League & Covenant for the Non-Consumption of English Goods that shall arrive in America after the 31st Augt next has been sent abroad into all Ports of this Province & has been signed by great Numbers. The Governor has issued his Proclamation against it, & what will follow next we cannot say.

"We find already an almost total Cessation of Business; we neither sell our Goods nor receive Debts due for those sold long since. This makes us much concerned how we shall make remittances. We have now on hand above £10,000 Stg Value in Goods at the first Cost, and a very large Debt out; but such is the prospect of Affairs that we have no Assurance of raising any considerable sums. All we can promise is our utmost Endeavors to pay our Debts, to do which we consider ourselves obliged by every principle of Honesty & Honor, whatever may take place in political Matters.

"We hope none of our Customers will adopt the Opinion that the with-holding the Payment of Debts to Great Britain is a reasonable measure to obtain the Redress of our Grievances, but we cannot assure you it will not be the Case. Should it be we shall be utterly unable to remitt you as formerly, as suits at Law in these disturbed Times must be attended with tenfold Difficulty & Uncertainty.

"However faulty the People may have been in destroying private Property, we think the Resentment shewn exceeds all Bounds of humanity. Boston is to be in a manner destroy'd; our Judges to be appointed and dismissed at the Pleasure of the Governor; an Inhabitant liable to be carried to a foreign Country to be tried for life; others, tho' Innocent, liable to be sent with them as Evidence, perhaps to the ruin of their Families—this will never be borne with. Our Sea Port may be destroyed, but the Country will never assent to these Things.

"We cannot conclude without saying that Notwithstanding these Appearances, we have some faint Hopes that Light will soon arise out of Darkness when we Consider that it is so much the Interest of both Countries to have things settled on some reasonable Footing. The Americans will never admit in Parliament a Right to tax them at Pleasure: but they are universally sensible that the Good of both Countries requires that a Power be acknowledged to be in Parliament to regulate our Trade in such a Manner as to give the Produce & Manufactures of Great Britain & the Colonies an Advantage over those of other Countries, & to prevent any Trade being carried on prejudicial to the whole Empire.

"We have just receiv'd yours of 6th of May pr Brown.

"We remain &c.

The above except the last Line was sent to the following Persons, vizt—"

[Here follow the names of twenty-two firms.]

The letters between July 13th 1774 & May 30th 1775 an-

nounce remittances to various houses in England, to be passed to the credit of Amorys Taylor & Rogers, amounting to £11,195 13*s.* 3*d.*

[CXXVIII.] August 8th, 1774, the firm write to Messrs. Harrisons and Ansley by Captain Wishart *via* Plymouth and Captain Lyde *via* Salem, ordering "for Mr James Foster of this town" wool-card wire, cotton-carder and 500,000 card tacks at the lowest prices on ten months' credit. "We hope you will be able to ship these Articles in a short Time after the Receipt of this as we should chuse to have them omitted rather than shipt so late that there should be danger of the Vessells being blown off, coming upon our Coast in the Winter.

"The State of our public Affairs appears so precarious that we have Nothing to write concerning them that we think could give Satisfaction; must therefore beg leave to refer you to the public papers. We are etc."

[CXXIX.] "Boston, Sept 3rd 1774. Messrs Harrisons & Ansley

"Gentn

". . . . Our public Calamities which have of late been the subject of our Letters, still continue uppermost in our Minds. It is the general Opinion & we cannot but join in it that Events the most important to the Colonies & to this Province in particular, must take place in a very short Time. For your Information of what has lately passed we have sent you p. Capt. Davis a Number of News Papers by which you

will find that the two Acts of Parliament lately passed for regulating the Government of the Province, & administering Justice therein, are almost universally detested & opposed. We have advice almost every Day of fresh Instances of the Resentment of the Country against Persons who, from their Office or supposed Principles, are engaged to execute them. Of the 36 new appointed Councillors 25 were sworn, but all these except about 14 who are cooped up in this Town, have been obliged to resign their Office & promise never to act under the new Establishment.

"Yesterday several Thousands of People were assembled at Cambridge, & a great Part brought their Arms with them, upon a Report (occasioned by the Governor's removing some Powder) that the Province would be disarmed. The Select Men of this Town & several others, went out in order to calm them & we are informed that the People assembled, having obliged the Lieut-Governor & some others to resign their Office as Councellors, and the Sheriff & Clerk of the Court for the County of Middlesex to promise never to act under the new Establishment, returned home.

"Our Courts of Justice are now shut, & we have no Expectation of their being opened again for a considerable Time, as the Jurors who have been summoned have one & all declined serving in consequence of which all the Superior Judges waited on his Excellency & acquainted him they could not go the Circuits. As all Law is now at an End, we are left at the Mercy of those who are indebted to us to pay us at their own Time. We are satisfied with the Honor & Integrity of most of those with whom we deal; but how far they will be render'd unable to pay us from their Debtors

availing themselves of the Times, we are unable to say. Time only will discover. But be assured there is nothing we are so solicitous about as the Discharging our Debts in England, & therefore we shall exert ourselves to the utmost to collect & remit as fast as possible.

"It appears to us that the whole Body of the People not only of this Province but of the Colonies around us are so determined to support their Charter-Rights even at the Risque of their lives & Fortunes, that we cannot think that any Force that Great Britain can spare will effect the Change they intend. The last Acts are so glaringly oppressive & cruel that there seems now scarcely a Man in New England, except a few who from their Places are under Influence, but abhors them & is ready to oppose them. It is our opinion that should Great Britain by any extraordinary Force be able to carry these Acts into Execution for the present, she will reap no Benefit from it as the People here will hold her in such Detestation & Abhorrence as will prevent her from having those commercial Advantages which she has heretofore had, & will be only waiting the first favourable Opportunity for Opposition. Nor is it unlikely that the very Troops which she may send over to subjugate us may incorporate with us, either by a promise of Reward or by some unforeseen Events & prove the very Instruments of our Safety from arbitrary Power.

"We have as yet experienced but little Inconvenience from the Soldiery as they are under the strictest Discipline, & altogether confined to their Camps in the Common & on Fort Hill: not a soldier is to be seen in the streets of an Evening, & seldom in the Day, unless under the Care of their Serjeants.

"We remain etc."

Here a scrap of paper, apparently as old as the Letter-Book, is stuck between the leaves and bears two and a half lines of writing as follows :

" Where the *two* leaves doubled in—is the letter the sent & it was printed in Eng^{l} & distributed by the person it was written to."

Three leaves show a fold down the middle as if they had been doubled in, but they hold only two letters, viz. the one here last given, of September 3rd, and the one which follows, of September 17th. The Canada Bill mentioned in this is the Quebec Act of 1774, probably the wisest and most enlightened measure ever carried by Lord North. It virtually established Roman Catholicism in Canada, an act of justice to the Canadians, who were wholly French. The English part of Canada did not exist until after 1783, when it was formed almost entirely of Loyalist refugees from the States. The wisdom of the Act is shown by the fact that the only French colony which England had, remained then and always enthusiastically loyal while all the English ones were alienated. But at the moment ultra-Protestants in England were not less angry with Lord North than were the Massachusetts Puritans. The latter were naturally alarmed as well as angry, regarding the Act as a bribe to Canada to take the Government's side in the approaching contest. No doubt something of that was in the origin of the measure. The Canadians would have had cause of complaint if nothing of the kind had been done, and Lord North naturally did not wish to add disaffected French to disaffected English colonies. There was an unexpected dissolution of Parliament in the autumn, an inquiry into the

mind of the country, and as the new Parliament met on the 30th of November the General Election must just then have been over. John Amory's statement of affairs in America during the first half of September may have been in time to serve as an electioneering pamphlet.

[CXXX.] "Boston, Sept. 17. 1774. Lyde.

"The unhappy state we are thrown into by the late cruel & oppressive Acts of Parliament for shutting up our Port & altering our Government, so deeply impresses our Minds that we are led at this Time to write on that subject to you, & other of our Friends in England, who may have an Influence in the Choice of Members of Parliament at the next Elections.

Surely there never was a Time that more called for the Attention of the People in the Choice of their Representatives. Should the next Parliament, instead of adopting lenient Measures, pursue the Steps of the last & endeavor to enforce the Measures of Lord North by military Power, America will soon become a Scene of Blood; for you may rely upon it that they are determined to risque their Lives & Fortunes, rather than become the Slaves of arbitrary Power. Nor can we think that any Force Great Britain can spare can effect their Designs. Disciplined Troops undoubtedly are greatly superior to Militia, but the Disparity in Numbers is so very great as must more than overbalance that Advantage. The Readiness of our People to take Arms was shewn a few days ago on Occasion of the Governor's suddenly sending out a small Party to bring away a Qty of Powder that belonged to the Province which they easily effected, their Design not being known. This occasioned a Report thro' the Country that the Governor

was disarming the People ; which so inflamed them that great Bodies of People collected with the utmost Alacrity, & many came down to oppose the soldiers if there was Occasion : and had the Report proved true we make no doubt that 20000 Men tolerably armed would soon have been collected, or double that Number if wanted, as it is supposed we have more than 80000 Men in this Province alone, all well accustomed to Fire-Arms, & mostly in some Measure disciplined. Judge then what must probably be the Event. Should they from want of Discipline be beat once, twice or three Times, which is not very probable, they must finally prevail, as the King's Troops must be weakened by every Action, whereas ours will daily grow stronger as well from Experience as from the Accession of any Number from the other Colonies that may be wanted. Indeed, a great Number, some say 10000 were on their March from Connecticut on this Occasion. The Governor, notwithstanding he has now with him seven Regiments, thinks proper to secure the Avenue of the Town for fear of an Attack, & is beginning works for that Purpose.

"But upon supposition of Great Britain finally prevailing after massacring thousands of innocent People (innocent at least even if mistaken; as they think they are contending for their just Rights) will any Profit accrue to her from her Success? Can she promise herself that she will reap those Commercial Advantages she has heretofore done? She certainly will not ; the People & their latest Posterity, tho' subjugated, will detest her & only wait the first favorable Opportunity to throw off the Yoke : & to us it appears more than probable that the very Troops sent among us either from promise of reward or some unforeseen Event will in a short

Time incorporate with us & be the very Means of combating that arbitrary Power they were sent to establish.

"There might be some Prospect of Government's succeeding was there any Proportion worth mentioning on its side; but the late Acts have made the Discontent in a manner universal. The Grievances we complain of are real: the taking away our Charter Rights, the subjection of our Property to the King's Pleasure, & those who may murder us being rendered not amenable to any Tribunal of Justice in America, are too glaring Attacks upon our political as well as natural Rights, not to be felt by the most dull & stupid, much less to be borne by a People among whom Knowledge perhaps is more generally diffused than among any People upon Earth. This perhaps you may think boasting, but it may appear probable to you when we acquaint you that in every Town Free-Schools are established at public Expence; & it costs no more to bring up Children to the Learning of reading, writing, cyphering & in many Places Latin, than to keep them in Ignorance.

"As we have mentioned before that our Grievances are real, we beg your Patience while we point out some of them. And in order that you may frame a better Judgment of the Alteration, we will first mention the Charter Constitution which till of late we were under.

"Our Governors, tho' appointed by His Majesty, were paid by the People, who have never with held a Salary of one thousand Pounds Stg. p. Annum from any Governor, even the most obnoxious.—Our Council chosen annually by the Representatives jointly with the old Council subject to the Negative of the Governor.—Our Judges & other Civil Officers

being paid by the People were appointed by the Governor & this Council, & removable only by them when upon Trial found guilty of Misdemeanor.—Our Juries for Trials chosen by Lot from among those qualified to serve.—Our military Officers appointed solely by the Governor & removeable by him at Pleasure.—All our Acts of Assembly subject not only to his Negative but even afterwards to the controul of the King in Council.—Thus was our Dependence on Great Britain as effectually secured as it well could be, consistent with a State of Freedom. Under this Constitution we were happy for more than a Century, prided ourselves in the Name of Englishmen, & were ready to spend our Blood & Treasure in the service of Great Britain; & for a series of years shewed our Attachment to her Interest which we then considered our own, & distressed ourselves almost to Ruin in aggrandizing her Name & enlarging her Dominions. An Account of our Exertions in her Cause as well as in our own Defence you will probably see reprinted in your Magazines. It is a precise Acct. taken of all Expences & Men employed by this Province in military Expeditions since its first settlement; it was taken about ten years ago by a Committee of the Council of which our late Governor Hutchinson was Chairman: it lately appeared in our News-Papers; & the Amt of the Money was £1,039,390. 5. 4 our L. m^{y} equal to £779,542. 14/ Stg, a prodigious sum for an infant Colony.

"This Disposition would have remained had not Great Britain unhappily both for herself and us, formed an Idea of taxing us at Pleasure, & thereby subjecting us to a state of perfect Slavery, a Project she will never effect tho she may ruin herself totally & us for a Time by the Attempt.

"We have now Sir to shew you the Alteration made in our Constitution.

"The Parliament, in which we are not represented, have declared their Right to tax us at Pleasure, & have exercised that Right. This Principle once admitted there is nothing an American can call his own.

"Our Governor, instead of being paid by the People, is paid by the Crown & therefore does not stand in that Relation to the People that he before did. It is certain his receiving Pay from the People had a natural tendency to lead him to be tender of them & attentive in some Measure to their Interest: while his Appointment & Removal resting with the King made him sufficiently attentive to the Interests of the Crown. At least there was no Occasion for such an Alteration untill he was denied an adequate support by the People.

"Our Council is now appointed by the Crown & removeable by it at Pleasure.

"The Judges of our Superior Courts pensioned by the Crown & also removeable by it at Pleasure. This was a most wanton Innovation, as it never was suggested that they had in any one Instance appeared more favorable to the Interest of the People than to that of the Crown; tho' the Contrary has been complained of. We are sensible that some have argued that their Stipends are not equal to the Dignity of their Place; but as it never has been found during a Century but that those who have been most esteemed among us for their Integrity & best qualified for the Place, have been ready to accept for the Honor, surely no Argument could be fairly drawn from thence.

"The Judges of our Inferior Courts are appointed solely by the Governor, & removeable by him at Pleasure.

"Our Juries are chosen by the Sheriff, who is also appointed solely by the Governor.

"A Town-Meeting cannot be held on the most trivial Matters, except once or twice a year, without the special leave of the Governor.

"Thus, Sir, the Governor is rendered in a manner despotick, & our Charter Priveleges which have always been consider'd by us as the only Security we have for our Liberties & Properties, broken in upon in the most capital Articles. Add to all this the most shocking Consideration that those who may murder us, if the Governor chuses to consider them as acting for Government, are not amenable to our Courts of Justice even such as they are but [are to be] sent to a foreign Country for Trial; & all who are cited as Evidences obliged to leave their Homes to attend the Trial, tho' perhaps to their Ruin. We cannot dwell upon this, it is too much to think of.

"All this, Sir, has arisen from Great Britain's adopting as we think a most false & ruinous System of Politicks with regard to the Colonies. She was reaping immense Profit from them, which was increasing rapidly every Year; she virtually obliged them to pay their Proportion of Taxes by restricting their Trade to her for all such Manufactures as she could supply them with, the Prices of which were enhanced perhaps one half by the various Taxes paid by the Makers, & which must necessarily be charged on the Goods. We hope that when the Parliament shall be convinced, as we are sensible they soon must be, of the ruinous system they have adopted, they will not think it beneath their Dignity to recede.

"We have now no Law, nor Courts of Justice, the Jurors who have been summoned to a Man refusing to do Business

under the new establishment; & the Judges themselves have in a Body waited upon his Excellency & acquainted him they cannot go the Circuits, so that we now lye at the Mercy of those who owe us, which renders our debts very precarious. How long this may remain God only knows—if it should remain long, thousands must be ruined. Of the thirty six Councillors lately appointed by the King & whose Readiness to serve the Purposes of Government was presumed upon, ten refused accepting, nine who accepted have been made to resign, & fifteen who still hold their Places are cooped up in this Town. Of the other two one is dead, the other absent.

"Notwithstanding the distressed situation of this Town, its Trade destroyed, & entirely in the Power of the Army encamped in it, not the least Disposition to give Place appears: the opening of the Port is not so much as mentioned. The Difficulty lyes not in paying for the Tea, if that would release us, but in complying with an Act which puts our most valuable Property at the mercy of the Crown, & destroys every Idea of holding any thing that we can call our own. Beside this we are animated by all the Colonies taking part in our Cause & contributing so largely to our Relief; which tho' it does not help those who are above applying for Charity, yet prevents the Cry for Bread being heard in our Streets.

"We are now waiting impatiently for the Result of the Congress, & hope it may be such as Great Britain can with Honor & Safety acquiesce in, & that it may lead to the settlement of a just & equitable Line between the Authority of Great Britain on the one Part, & the Liberties of America on the other. Should these Disputes be once settled & no such Encroachments on our Rights be made in future, doubt not

the Americans will again return to the same Love to Great Britain & Regard for her Interests that they heretofore had.

"Wishing you Health & Happiness, & a better Government than we are under, we remain with Esteem

"Your Friends & Humble Servants

"P.S. We forgot to mention that the Canada Bill has tended to inflame the Minds of the People here, as it indicates to them a Design in the Ministry to sett Frenchmen & Papists to cut their Throats, in case they are not subservient to the Plan of Despotism intended to be established among them.

"This Letter was sent to Mr Mark Huish, N. & T. Phillips & Co., Jn° & Fras. Bull, Dowling Brett & Co., Mr W^m^ Douglas, N. & R. Denison, Benj & Jn° Bower, Smith Harris & Hatfield, Jn° Priestley & Sons, Rayner Dawson & Co., John Woolmer, R. & T. Wilson."

[CXXXI.] "Boston Sept 21. 1774. Mr Gilbert Harrison

"Sir

"This will be handed to you by Doct W^m^ Payne who together with Mr Rufus Chandler go in Capt. Llyde. They are our particular Friends & Sons to Judge Chandler & the Honb. Mr Payne of Worcester who I believe you know. If it should lay in your way to shew them any Civility by doing it you will oblige us. They will deliver you a packet of News Papers from which you 'l find what's passing here—it is a dark day with us. God send us better Times.

"With sincere Regard we are

"Yr. Friends & Servants

"P.S. We have just heard of Capt Scott's Arrival but have not yet got our Letters."

[CXXXII.] October 13th 1774: "Please to direct to us at Salem as our J. Taylor is there & will probably continue there some time."

[CXXXIII.] "Boston October 13. 1774 Messrs Harrisons & Ansley Gordon via Marblehead & Capt Dundas.

". . . . Your favor of 15 August pr Capt Callahan who arrived at Salem yesterday. . . . We consider ourselves much obliged by the Confidence you express in our Integrity & the kind & generous Indulgence you offer us in Case the Interruption in our Business should occasion a Delay in our Remittances. We beg leave to add on this subject, that this Delay shall not be increased by your Friendly declaration."

[CXXXIV.] "October 17th 1774.

"Please direct to us at Salem, provided that the Vessel by whom you write is bound for that Place. We have a store there & it saves postage."

[CXXXV.] "Boston Nov. 1st 1774 Messrs John & Francis Bull

("enclosing copy of the letter of September 17th)

"We duly recd your favors of the 16th July & 14th August. We are oblig'd to you for the sensible & well wrote Pamp[h]let you sent; we wish it may make the impression it ought. We are now in a State of the [most] anxious Soli[ci]tude waiting the Determination of Great Britain upon

receiving the Acc^ts^ of the Opposition made here. God grant a favorable Issue to them things."

[CXXXVI.] "Nov. 9. 1774. To Mr Joseph Antt of Sheffield.

"We are obliged to you for your kind sympathy in our public Calamities, & most earnestly wish Commerce might return to its former channel by an equitable adjustment of the dispute between the Mother Country & the Colonies till which time we must discontinue our Importation."

[CXXXVII.] "November 9. 1774. To R. Prime & Co.

". . . . yr kind favor of 24^th^ August. . . . Consider ourselves much obliged by the friendly Concern you manifest for us. You will before this comes to hand be informed of the proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia, according to which we expect to discontinue our Importations for the present. Happy shall we account that Day w^ch^ puts an End to the Disputes between your Country & ours. God Almighty hasten it."

[CXXXVIII.] November 21^st^ 1774. The firm send to Harrisons & Ansley bills of Exchange for £800, bought on a Month's Credit. They hope to raise the money within the time, but if this cannot be done "must draw on you at 60 or 90 days & endeavor to replace it immediately."

[CXXXIX.] "Boston Nov. 21^st^ 1774. Auchincloss & Lang.

"The Packets we are informed will in future come to this

Port. Please to send your favors by them, as that will save us Postage from Salem."

[CXL.] "Boston Dec. 10th 1774. Messrs Harrisons & Ansley. Davison & Vessell from Marblehead.

". . . We should gladly write on the times if we knew what to say, but all is in a state of suspence, waiting the determination of our Fate from the New Parliament. Should Administration determine on pushing their Measures they will meet with all the Opposition America can make, how great that will be, or what its effect none can say—the Minds of the People are embitter'd beyond what you can well conceive—the Provincial Congress wch sat at Cambridge is just dissolv'd after coming to the most Extraordinary resolution, that if our Rights are not restor'd no English Goods shall be vended after the 10th of October next, but Inventory's taken of all on hand, the Goods to be Shutt up in the Stores where they happen then to be—in case anyone refuses to give in an Inventory his Goods are by force to be taken from him & kept by Committees for that purpose This is done least Goods introduced after 1st of Decr should be sold under pretention of being imported before that time. You can't but observe that nothing but the extremest necessity could justify these desperate measures—this necessity the People consider themselves drove to.

"We are very quiet in this Town. Our Governor is constantly exerting himself to prevent every cause of Uneasiness between the Soldiers & Inhabitants & indeed his prudence & humanity have been so conspicuous, that those who were most prejudic'd against him, are now impressed with very

favourable Ideas of him, & can't help speaking of him with respect. We wish this may last.

"A very large Committee, no less than 63, have been chosen by the Town this Week to execute the resolutions of the general Congress with regard to the Non Importation of English Goods—there is great jealousy that Goods will be imported in This Transport on her return—it is said she goes to bring necessarys for the Army & it is suspected that Attempts will be made to get other Goods in with them—however every Caution be used to prevent the Sale of such Goods."

[CXLI.] "Dec. 10th Our trade is now totally stopt with regard to importing Goods."

[CXLII.] Dec. 21st 1774. To Mr. Isaac Dent.

The firm acknowledge a letter of September 1st, by Capt. Hood, "as also the Powder shipt on board the Lydia."

By April 10th 1775 they are sending their letters by vessels sailing from Newport. A week after the battle of Lexington, when 16,000 yeomanry were besieging Governor Gage in Boston, John Amory and his wife sailed for England from Marblehead, having left their children at a farm owned by Mrs. Amory's brother, at Sterling, near Lancaster. Thomas Amory, with William and Nathaniel Coffin,[181] signed the Address to General Gage. They and Jonathan also, remained in Boston during the siege. The elder William Coffin died there in June, and his wife,[182] Ann Holmes, in August.

[CXLIII.] "Boston May 30th 1775. Messrs. Harrisons & Ansley Pr the Thomas via Bristol.

"Sirs

"We wrote you last the 10th April, Copy of which was forwarded by Capt Brown with whom went Passenger our Joseph Taylor. Capt Callahan sailed from Marblehead ye 26th inst for London; with him went our Jno Amory & his Lady. On the Arrival of these Vessels you will be informed of the distracted State of this country—And we cannot say that has since happened opens a better Prospect, but the contrary. The Cerberus is order'd to return to England again, by which means we are favored with a safe oppertunity to send inclosed the following 2nd Bills, which we request your particular Care of, they being for Mr Amory's own Use. . . . [The bills amount to £520 Sterling] . . . the first of these bills are with Mr. Jno Amory. We shall rejoice when it shall be in our Power to remit to you further but unhappily it is not now."

[CXLIV.] "Boston, 3rd June 1775. Mr Mark Huish.

"Sir,

"Our last Respects to you were of 17th Feb since which we have your much esteemed Favours of 14 Jan & 29 March.

"We consider ourselves individually obliged by your Friendship for the American Colonies in general as well as the many kind Expressions & Instances of it to us in particular; & tho' your Endeavours to serve America in Parliament have failed, yet with us you have all the Merit of the most successful Application. Long before you receive this you will

have heard that Hostilities have been commenced between the King's Troops & the People of this Province, ever since which time this Town has been invested Thus our Prospect of Peace is removed far distant. What the Event will be God only knows. We for our part heartily wish for a Accomodation & a lasting union with G. B.—Our Partners Mr. Jno. Amory & J. Taylor are both gone for England. You will doubtless see & can better learn from them the particular State of Affairs here than from us by Letter, as Nothing very important has happened since the departure of the former.

"We have likewise to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favor of the 12th Feb. delivered us by Capt Sherwin who arrived here with Gen. Howe the 25th Ult° in the Cerberus. We have as yet seen but little of this Gentleman (he having been much engaged since his Arrival) but shall be happy in rendering him any service or civilities in our Power, as from the little we have seen of him he appears to be a Gentleman of worth & merit, but especially as he is your Friend.

"We ever shall be pleased with an Opportunity in this or any other way of shewing with how much Esteem & Regard

"We are, Sir

"Your Friends & Hum. Serv."

The letters of June 5th and 30th, 1775, make no allusion to public affairs; the latter of the two, to Prime & Co., is marked "Inclosed in one to Mr. John Amory."

[CXLV.] "Boston, October 9th 1775. Harrison & Ansley.

". . . We much regret the departure & loss of that time

when our constant dealings furnished subjects for the most frequent correspondence. We most ardently wish for the Return of that Time of Peace & Security, but cannot say we have much Hope of its being speedy.

"Our present situation is much like that we were in some months ago, of which you are doubtless well informed. The Scenes before us are those of Fortifications & of Camps but no important Action has taken place of late. [Encloses letters to Messrs. H. & A.'s care; and bills for £118 9*s*. 5*d*. to be paid to Mr John Amory.] We are much mortified that we can make no greater Remittances. . . ."

[CXLVI.] "Dec 4. 1775. Messrs Harrisons & Ansley.

". . . . [Encloses £604 5*s*. for John Amory.] . . .

". . . . It is our constant Endeavour to make Sale of our Goods and to collect our Debts, but as many of our Goods are unsaleable in the Garrison tho well adapted to our former Custom; and as very few Opportunities offer to collect Debts in a Country now in Arms, we can raise Money but very slowly to our great Mortification. We hope by constant Attention however to collect enough to discharge our Debts in England, whatever may be the fate of the rest; at the same time we are sensible the Matter must be attended with Delays which nothing but our distresses will excuse.

"We are confident the Candour of our friends in England will not impute that to us which is occasioned by public Calamities, and are determined that nothing in our power to do shall be wanting to deserve their indulgence."

[CXLVII.] "Jan 10 1776 Messrs Harrisons & Ansley."

[Encloses £1,020 for John Amory.] ". . . . We wish you the Compliments of the Season, and the happy return of many a peacefull Year." On January 23rd, 29th, and 31st the letters enclose bills amounting in all to £636, "to be employed as John Amory shall direct."

CHAPTER XIII.

Letter-Books, 1776—1781.

BY the end of February Washington had begun to make entrenchments on Dorchester Heights in order to command Boston with his guns while making a double attack on it from the north and west. Seeing that the place could be held no longer, General Howe prepared to take to the ships; but the inhabitants saw danger from both sides: General Washington's assault would do great damage, and the British troops as they withdrew might fire the town. Mr. T. C. Amory says that on March 8th Deacon Newell, Chairman of the Selectmen, requested [183] Thomas and Jonathan Amory and their friend Peter Johonnot to carry to General Washington a paper prepared by four Selectmen, proposing that the British troops should be allowed to retire unmolested, on condition of doing no harm. The offer was really authorized by General Robertson acting for Howe, but this could not be put in writing, nor was the person named to whom the paper was addressed. The messengers however delivered it to General Washington, whereupon Colonel Learned on his behalf wrote them an answer to the effect that no notice could be taken of a letter neither addressed

to himself nor authenticated by General Howe. Nevertheless the agreement was kept as if it had been formally made, and as nothing was reported Ministers were able to deny to an angry Opposition in Parliament that there had been any compromise or stipulation between General Howe and the rebels, although the Duke of Manchester affirmed that he had private information of it.

On the Evacuation Thomas Amory withdrew for a time to Watertown, doubtful of his position at Boston. His wife's brothers, William and Nathaniel (the last Royal Cashier of Customs), and her sister's husband, Gilbert Deblois, left the colony with General Howe's army. Each took several sons with him, but Deblois and William Coffin left their wives and daughters. Mrs. Deblois was so fierce a Loyalist that she never would be reconciled to one or two of her sons who became Whigs. It is said, on the testimony of Sir Guy Carleton and others, that her brother John Coffin by his resolution and watchfulness played the chief part in saving Quebec and Canada to England. He had left Boston in 1775, taking his wife and twelve children in his own schooner to Quebec. On arriving he began at once to build a distillery, but by the end of the year was defending it as a battery with Barnsfare's guns. The American attacking party fell before it, January 1st, 1776.[184]

[CXLVIII.] "Boston, Sept 17. 1776. Messrs Harrisons & Ansley. P. Capt Wilson via France & by Mr Phillip Jarvis, son of Cap. Rob. Jarvis, via France; he sails from Nantucket, October 1776.

"GENT

"Inclosed is W^m^ Ross second Bill on Sam^l^ Bean Esq^r^

London for one hundred Pounds sterling, as also Patrick Reid on Dunlap & Wilson for fifty Pounds sterling. These Bills I bought of the Gent[n] here who complained of the want of Money, and as they were bound Home & will be on the Spot, in case the Bills are not accepted you will be able to get the Money of them—some of them are Gent[n] of Antego who go Home in Creighton, Capt Moore.

"I have long looked for my Brother Home and am much disappointed in not seeing him as by his last letter I received dated Dec. 8. 1775 he seem'd determined to come Home suppose the Difficulty of getting here is the Reason. I much wish to have him here as I find it very difficult to do Business without him. I have given Cap[n] Ross a Letter for him under cover to you which if he is in England beg the favor of your given him.

"I have indors'd the Bills to my Brother & in his absence to you, if he is in England please to deliver the Bills to him: if not please to receive the Money on account of Amorys Taylor & Rogers."

[CXLIX.] A letter, dated Boston, October 14th, 1776, beginning "Friend Collins" and signed Jona Amory, is crossed out and marked "Not sent." It shows that Amorys and Taylor had entrusted £600 sterling to William Barrell of Philadelphia, who was to give all his time to the business (apparently of trading with the money) and to divide the profits with them. Mr. Barrell had now died, and Mr. Hancock, taking charge of all his effects, had written to Boston to Mr. Joseph Barrell & Mr. Sam Elliot [*sic*]. Mr. Eliot wrote to tell Mr. Hancock that Jona. Amory was the person to whom all William Barrell's possessions should be handed over, & that Amory wished

them to be put in the care of Mr. Collins, whose brother Ezra wrote from Boston requesting him to accept the charge. The letters of Mr. Ezra Collins and Mr. Eliot were given to Amory, who thought of going to Philadelphia himself, but finding that he could not leave home, was now forwarding them. Mr. Hancock, he remarks, "has put the two Apprentices to board, but the Death of Mr Barrell certainly frees them, therefore I cannot see the Necessity of keeping them at board, tho' I should be sorry to turn them suddenly on the World, and should be willing to do anything that is reasonable. . . . I think Mr Hancock will not refuse to place the thing under your care." This letter was rewritten and sent on October 19th. Jonathan speaks of himself as "the only Partner that is here now." [CL.] November 11th, 1776, he agrees to discharge a mortgage on Joseph Beeman's Farm which he had been inclined to purchase.

[CLI.] "Boston November 12. 1776.

"Dear Brother

"I find by your letter to Mr Sam[l] Rogers of 15 July that fell into my Hands by the Julyus Ceasor being brought in here that you rec[d] my Letter 2 May from Newbury and my Desire you should come Home which I ardently wish for. I am sorry I did not mention that you could come from Hallifax here tho it was not so well known as at Present, no Person having come from there at that Time. I have wrote you many letters sense mentioning both New York and Hallifax from either of which places you might get Home. I find it extreem dificult to do Buisness without you. . . . I being out of town it is dificult to gett Letters sent from here.

I hear Mr Rogers is gorn England, he carried some papers with him that I wish much were here.

"I wish I could have purchased Exchange that was there as the extreem dificulty of getting protested Bills back if can possibly tell of any should be very glad to send.

"Your Daughters are at Sister Payne's. Rufus at College, John with me, your other Boys at Colchester, they would have ben brought down with the Girls, Mrs Deming had lost all her Children, her Husband sick at Gen^{l} Washinton's Army & she could not part with them. Jon^{a} and Bill I shall send for."

[CLII.] December 2nd, 1776, he writes to Collins, at Philadelphia, whose report of Mr. Barrell's affairs has been received. Barrell had, rather in defiance of his agreement with Amorys & Taylor, engaged in the India trade and in privateering. He had also bought real estate, which, however, "may be no disadvantage in the present situation of our Currency," though "I was in hopes he had reserved some hard Money to discharge his Debts in England. I am very sorry to hear that the entries in his Books are not reputably made." Collins has "kept J. Reed," which Amory approves as, with his assistance as to the books and accounts, it may be easier to settle the estate. The goods had better not be disposed of till there is time to ascertain their real value. What supplies Barrell furnished to the Army can be learned from Mr. Mifflin when he returns from the Camp. No doubt Mr. Hancock will deliver the Money he holds, to Collins, who will take out administration and then settle with the owners of the vessel that had letters of mark, with Mr. Gerry, etc. From giving fuller directions Amory excuses himself, as he

has the whole business of his firm to do, and is in an "ill state of health."

[CLIII.] On December 21st he tries to collect some part of what is due to him from the estate of a man named Irving who has died, and who was tenant of a farm of his but never paid him anything. He does not wish at present to sell the farm.

[CLIV.] On the 20th of January, 1777, Jonathan sends a letter and £90 to his brother, to the care of Harrisons and Ansley, requesting that if John has left England the bills may be put to the credit of his firm. A note is added in the Letter-Book that "This was sent by Mr Timmins to Mr John Amory with the Bills which Mr Timmins carries loose in his Pocket. . . . he saild from Plymouth for Ireland Feb. 2. 1777."

In February, a letter is "sent, by Cap. Richardson a Prisoner going to England via New York," with "Tober second bill for £81 & N. B. Lyde second bill for £90 sterg."

[CLV.] Feb. 25. 1777. Jonathan writes to Collins: trusts to his judgment about Barrell's effects, agrees with him "in sentiment as to taking paper money, & do not see how you can avoid it, & know not what is best, as it is uncertain wether we shall have any other. I was some time past unwell and much depressed in my Mind owing to my great concern from the Times, my Partners absent, I not used to Business, fearing ruin to them from my conduct more especially my Brother who had earned what Money we have & has ten Children in this Country, six of them Boys. I have been in the Country

for my Health & thank God I am now better. While I was unwell & in the Country I got my Brother Mr Edward Payne to answer some of your Letters, he mention'd to you that I had not been able to purchase any Exchange since the Town was open in which he was in part mistaken, I have purchased some tho' but little, about £600 sterling tho' for some of that I paid part silver, but had it all at par and know not where to get any more. . . . I suppose with you it is impossible to remit any produce to England, & if it was possible to do it anywhere else to center there, it must be at Mr Haley's Risque. I cannot find he has any Attorney or Agent if he had I suppose it was Mr Deblois who is gone from here. I had wrote my Brother before you desired it of Mr Barrell's death who no doubt must have acquainted Mr Haley. I wrote a letter the other day to him acquainting him of your administering, & left it as I went a Journey, to go by Mr Timmins. When I returned it was deliver'd to me open not being suffer'd go, it having a Bill of Exch[a] in it. . . . Mr Joseph Barrell has lately lost his wife. . . . I proposed to lay out one Hundred Dollars for State Lottery Tickets, but do not learn that any are a comming this way, should be glad you would purchase ten Tickets for Amorys Taylor & Rogers and send me the Numbers"—of which on April 14th he acknowledges the receipt.

The next letter shows already the question of Federalism as opposed to State Rights: the new Government facing the same difficulty which the old one had had, viz., Colonial defence with the colonies unwilling to be taxed for each other's safety.

[CLVI.] "March 12. 1777. To Collins.

"Mr Walter Barrell was a Clerk in one of the Offices of the Customs here under the Commissioners, I believe fifty pounds sterling a year & with your just observations on his present state, no Man can suppose him a suitable Person to administer on his Brother's Estate as he can have nothing till the Debts are paid.—Our Assembly have passed an Act here stating the Price of Articles in Order to prevent the Moneys Depreciating, but I think if we are to be a separate State we ought to support that State by a good Medium, and I know no other way than that every State should be taxed. No man can say we have not Money enough for a Medium & if there is not a tax on the Farmer & the monied Man there will not be Provisions raised for the Army another year, the Farmer will not raise a Cow or a Hog or a Bushell of Grain more than for his own Family, & I think we had better submit to be taxed by ourselves or our own Representatives than be a subdued People. If each State is left to themselves they will be making on every occasion a Pretence to get Articles from other States, as some Colonies formerly did, & stopping Articles going from State to State, & be too narrow & contracted in their Views. Excuse these few Lines on Politicks but you are near Head Quarters & if you agree with me hope you may do some good."

[CLVII.] April 4th 1777, he finds that Collins did not mean Walter, but Theodore, Barrell, which makes the matter quite different, and all remarks in the letter of March 12th are withdrawn. But if Gen. Mifflin understood the Barrell and Amory contract he could not think of taking away the

administration from Collins. Mr. Eliot wonders that he or Theodore Barrell should wish to do so. . . . "The Gentlemen of the [blank] of the Massachusetts State say they are dissolved & that I must petition the General Assembly for the Ballance of Mr Barrell's Acct & that you must send me a Power of Attorney to discharge it, & that no doubt they will pay it. The Spring preceding Mr Barrell's death he requested of his Sister Eliot the Loan of a Miniature Picture of their Father which was accordingly forwarded by the Lady of Dr Morgan. As Mrs Eliot holds this Picture in the highest Degree of Estimation I shall be obliged by your carefully reserving it till you shall find a safe Hand to convey it by. . . . I have inclosd you a Letter from Mr Eliot to Gen. Mifflin."

A week after the date of this last letter, Mrs John Amory died in London. "In the vestibule of the Church of St Laurence Jewry,[185] against the inner side of an arch, on a white marble tablet of an oval shape about three feet by two, is this inscription :

"In a Vault
near this Place
lieth interr'd the Remains
of Katherine
late Wife of
Mr John Amory, Merchant,
of Boston in New England
She died
April the 11th 1777
Aged 48 years."

The Petition (page 239) should be read here for the story of John and Katherine's intended return home in 1776, of his renewed efforts to return after her death, and of his making his way to Massachusetts only to be expelled. The Assembly which sent him back to Rhode Island seems to have been that of 1778, which passed the Act of Proscription and Banishment. I suppose—a point easily ascertainable at Boston from the State records—that he was among the three hundred and eight persons named in that Act. A new Act seems to have been passed for his restoration in 1784, precisely as for the restoration of Thomas Brattle, one of the proscribed. John did not remain in Rhode Island, but crossed the ocean again and spent the five years of waiting partly in London, partly at Brussels. News of him soon after his banishment came by way of Quebec, John Coffin writing to Thomas Amory:[186]

"Quebec y^e^ 3^rd^ Nov. 1779.

"Dear Brother

"Mr Lowder & Mr Dabadie (who were taken prisoners by a scouting Party from Quebec in their Journey from Machias to Penobscot & now sent for Halifax) give me an opportunity of reminding you of neglect in point of writing. We have wrote you repeatedly & have not rec'd a single Letter from you or any of our Boston Friends this year, neither have we had a single line from New York, & what makes it more aggravating is Sister Coffin's having been at 'York. if you cou'd conceive the pleasure your Letters afford us, you certainly wou'd indulge us more frequently notwithstanding you are not fond of writing.—I recd a Letter from your Brother John dated Cork y^e^ 16^th^ Ap^l^ 1779 at which time

He was very well and going for England. . . . I have likewise Letters from Brothers Gib. Deblois & Nat Coffin dated in Ap[l] last, Bro. Nat had been very unwell but had got pretty well again, Mr. Deblois was in good Health. I have a strong inclination to see some of my particular Friends of Boston, I wou'd meet you half way for the sake of a few Hours conversation,' but as I know you wont agree to this proposal, must defer our chat, till Great Britain & America are in better humour with each other. I have a thousand things to say to Sister Amory & you, but as this may be an open Letter before it reaches you can say no more than that your Family have our most sincere wishes for their Health & happiness. Mrs Coffin as well as myself beg to be remember'd most affectionately to your Brothers & Sisters, the Miss Johonnots, the Brindley Family, Unkle & Aunt Steevens, the Lowder Family & Doct Lloyd & dare say you'l not forget the same to Sister Deblois & Molly Coffin's Families. Mrs Coffin has wrote her sister Sheaffe by this oppertunity. I am anxious to know what she is doing as I am apprehensive she feels a great share of the distress of these disagreeable times. Mr Nat Taylor & Wife are well, I suppose they write by this oppert[y] Shou'd be happy in hearing you & Mrs Amory & others of our Friends were bless'd with as great a share of Health & Spirits as this Northern Climate has furnish'd us with. Pray write us frequently & be as particular as times will admit, a very good method of conveyance is under cover to Maj. Handfield (our old Friend) at Halifax.

"I am with great Esteem

"your affectionate Brother

"Jn° Coffin."

[CLVIII.] "Boston Nov. 19. 1779. Nathan Carpenter Captain of the Flag.

"My Dear Brother

"I wrote you by Capt Carnew who saild in a Flag for London about ten Days. I mention the Recept of yours July 11. . . . As to what you mentioned your friends think it best not to do anything upon it at present, and some of them think it would be best for you to Reside in Holland, & that if you were at Amsterdam there might be some Commission Business got for you, of purchasing goods to come that way to London. How long the war will last you will be the best Judge that side the water, as there can be no peace without Independence, and Consent of France & Spain to peace. Tho' our money has depreciated yet the internal strength of the Country is greater than when the war first began as there is hardly a Town but what has got more rateable Polls in it than at the first of the War, and tho' many Individuals suffer yet the farmer & the bulk of the people get by the war, & therefore Great Britain ought not to think of ever getting peace without allowing Independence. . . . Our Family & Friends are well & sends their love

"Yr affectionate Brother."

Jonathan now begins to ship Potash again, and to order in exchange shoe-bindings, calicoes, cambrick, buckram, white silk gauze, black lutestring ribbon, sarsnet, satin ribbon, knives and forks, pen-knives, jack-knives; window-glass 7 by 9, and 10 by 8; red-ground bandanna handkerchiefs; town-made linings, Irish linings [*i.e.*, linens].

[CLIX.] "December 13. 1779. . . . We have had the unhappy News of the Death of Mr William Greene."

October 12th 1780, he orders black calimancoes, shalloons of all colours; lutestrings, black, pink and green; black India taffetys, and Persians and Nank.; Irish linens, China calicoes well covered.

[CLX.] "Boston Sept 13th 1780. P. Capt Haden.

"My dear Brother

"By a Coppy of a Letter of Mr Hodgson the original of which went by Capt Haden who throwd his Letters over Board, I perceive there was two Letters of yours to me thrown over Board, which I was extreem sorry as I have not had the pleasure of a Line from you for a long while. Doctor Smith show'd me a letter of yours to him, wherein you desire the picture of your Children, & also your desire to petition for your Return Home which I am very desirous of & also desirous of petition for, but on consulting your ablest friends, they advise against doing of it yet. I was determined to do it this Sessions in the Name of yourself, your Children and Brothers & Sisters, but when I was about doing it Mr Lowell advis'd against it, it was thought better to let it alone till the new Constitution took place, which will be next Month,—for many Reasons too long to enumerate for a Person who loves writing so little as I do, & which you may suggest. If I cannot obtain Leave for your Return, I shall then set some Limmer to take your Children's Likeness & send to you.—I have had a Libel left at my House, R. T.

Payne States Attorney, E. Price, Clarke of the Court, Libelling your House, the Store, House bot of Jennings, House in Corn Hill bot of Williams formerly Nancy McNiel's, House & Land in Jamaica Plain, Pasture of fifty Acres in Roxbury, all in this County, being bought in your Name & mine, & suppose if they recover them they will go to Libell what there is in other Countys, but I am in hopes to save them by getting leave for your return to your family, & proving you no Enemy to your Country, which I am sure you are not. But if you are deprivd of your Estate be assurd whatever belongs to me I will at all times divide with you and your Children, & I hope you will not distress yourself but keep up your spirits & make yourself as happy as you can. I sent by Mr Charles Storrer to New York to the care of Mr W^{m} Taylor to be remitted to you two hundred Guineas which hope you will receive.

"This will be inclosd to the Care of Mr Hodgson & to whom I shall enclose for you the first Bill of two Setts of Exchange, the one for 2000 Livers, & the other for 1500 Livers. I have purchased Seventy Pounds Sterling by Mr Penny which hope soon to have & send you. By Mr Hodgson Letter I find you were gone to Brussels & that you were in good Health & Spirits, which made me happy. By missing your Letters I am at a Loss to know your plan. I think it is a pity you did not send duplicates. Mr Hodgson mentioned a Trunk & Box which you sent by Haden & by Mr Hodgson's copy which came to Hand by Capt Brown in to Newbury, I received a Bill of Lading for them. The Box has been deliverd to Brother Thomas but the Trunk is lost. I can know nothing of the Value of it. Please let me know

the Value of it in as clear a Manner as you can that in case I should be obliged to sue for it, I may recover it.

"Your sister Mrs Taylor is arrived here in a Flag from New York two days ago. She is in a Low State of Health, but we are in hopes her Native Air & friends will help her to recover her Health. Your Children are all well.

"Your affectionate Brother.

"I have remitted to Mr John Hodgson the four first Bills of four setts of Exchange, three for four thousand Livers each, one for 3998 Livers, drawn by de Grandian on Monsieur Beaudart de St James Tresure de la Marine, Paris, which I have desired him to deliver you or the produce. Half of this money I should think it best to send over here in Merchandize such as you think will answer best, & by the best Vessel for sailing & force that is coming this way, & to insure with you—but I leave it wholly with you to dispose of it as you think best."

[CLXI.] "Boston Dec. 16. 1780.

"My dear Brother

". . . I observe what you say as to your declining Commission Business. When we proposed the matter, we thought it might be an Employment to your mind you would like, but I am sure I have not a wish that you should pursue it without you chose it, & I am sure you have done your share of Business and Hope you will make yourself as happy as you can where you are, and what ever Estate I have I will always share with you.

"I have given J^no^ & Tho^s^ who are in Partnership about

One Hundred & three Pounds Sterling of Goods at their first Cost, and fitted up the shop in the Store for them, running the partition so as just to take in the Chimney, and it makes a much better shop than it did before, as it was then too deep, and they retail considerable, buying Goods here by wholesale and selling them again by retail and as the Trade is not free everybody is asking Gold & silver or paper as they please—paper having been for a Considerable while a 75 for one, & their Goods will fetch them three sterling for One that are saleable, what I have given them enables them to carry on their business very well and [as] at present they have no shop Rent to pay and they live with me, they may lay up something. John is very industrious and as you well suppose very ernest. Thomas has been out of Health which has in some measure kept him from so freely attending to it, but is getting better which will enable him to pursue it closely. He writes a very good hand and is a good Accomptant, and tho' under age as it is the fashion for young folks under age to be in business now it does very well.

". . . This Exchange I leave intirely to you to dispose of, but should think it best that you should keep some Money by you or put some little in some fund as the times are so very uncertain. We have a great deal of Money due to us here yet, but it is uncertain whether the tender Act will be repeal'd ; and if it should our situation is such from your absence that I must depend on the Good Will of those that owe us, to pay me. In order to buy this Exchange (some 100000 livres) I have parted with almost all the Gold & Silver I had. I expect to have about thirty thousand livers more soon, if you should think proper to send over some

Goods. An assortment of almost all Sorts will be best, tho' India Goods in general answer as well as most goods, Linnens are good, were most in Demand, but are now as plenty as anything, tho by the time you may send if you send any, the case may be alter'd. Woollen Goods & Clothing is now as scarce as anything, & if you should send Goods it may be towards next fall before they arrive, they may answer as well as anything. Calimancoes, Bindings, Calicoes, Gauzes, Pins, Needles, Knives & forks, Pen-knives and useful Hardware has hitherto sold well & high, but the taking Gold & silver as the Seller pleases, which is the case now, has made everything tolerable plenty. If any person should incline to send goods on Commission to John & Thomas or to me they may be as well disposed of as by anybody, and if the French Fleet & Army remain here, Exchange will always [be] to be had. I put a confidence in this Exchange as I think if these bills are not paid it will be impossible for the French Fleet & Army to subsist here. I have been hitherto cautious of Bills knowing that if they came back protested it would be impossible to get Justice but be obliged to take paper money for them, which I think will not be the case now. If Trade had been as free at first as it is now, I should have done much better with goods, but in fact there has been so many Regulating Bills, and so many Acts forcing people to sell their goods for this wicked paper money which sunk in one's hands, not knowing what to do with it, that it has hurt me prodigiously.

"The Friends of Mr Brattle are a going to proffer a Petition for his return here & your Friends think it not best to proffer a Petition for you till his is answered. . . ."

[CLXII.] "Jan. 11th 1781. Since the above I have purchased the following Bills of Exchange wh. I now enclose . . . [amounting to over 23,000 livres + $300 + £100 Sterling.]"

[CLXIII.] "March 2nd 1781.

"DEAR BROTHER

"I yesterday received yours of the 8th November, Brussels, by the Mars, with the Petition. The General Court is just a going to rise so that there is no opportunity to present it this Session, and as Mr Brattle's Petition tho' once accepted this Session yet has been reconsidered in a larger House & voted to lay on the Table, it is not thought proper to attempt anything till the Court sits again. . . . The Tender Act making Paper at the Nominal sum is repealed. The Paper Money is still a tender at the rate the Judges shall set it, and if I could receive it now as Bills of Exchange are low, I could do very well with it. However, but one Person has paid me anything yet which was Mr Hinckley who paid me six hundred Pounds for which I gave him Credit eight hundred pounds which I immediately turned into Exchange. I shall endeavour to collect what I can & shall lay it out directly for Exchange as I hope this Exchange will be paid. If it is not we shall be in a bad Plight as their not being paid will intirely ruin the Indorsers or most of them, therefore should think it best that if they are not paid immediately & should be a prospect of their being paid, it would be best to keep them some time by you, rather than send them back immediately, but this you will do as you think best about.

In regard to collecting Debts I am not very Sanguine about collecting much, as considering our situation it must lay much with the Debtor. I have not received anything this two years except what is above mentioned. I am not discouraged about getting you home but as we are not certain of obtaining this think it would be best to keep some money by you. I shall do my endeavour to remit you what I can, but I have layed out my hard money, my Goods are almost gone, debts uncertain, your Estate libelled, as also what is bought in your Name, a large Family to maintain, but this I do chearfully, & will always share with you what I have.

"I have given Capt Tom Folger a Bill for 4237 livres to lay out for me, the chief of which I shall want in the Family . . . if we could get Goods here that are wanted they would sell well . . . what few goods I have left are very unsaleable. Your Family is all well.

"Your affectionate Brother

"JON^{A} AMORY."

CHAPTER XIV.

Letter-Books, 1781-1786.

ON October 20th, 1781, Jonathan orders goods for the next spring from a merchant at Nantes, to whose care he soon after directs a letter for his brother:

[CLXIV.] "October 26. 1781. To John Amory.

". . . Now we have no other money passing among us but silver & gold. . . . I have three small Adventures now out w^ch^ I sent by Gentlemen who went from here to different parts of Europe. I now send this way because I think the risk from the Western Shore of France less than the German Sea. But however I am not without hopes there may be peace next Year, for we have this day received Grand Newes which is no less than the certain Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York Town, Virginia, to General Washington & the French Army & Navy. Lord Cornwallis is said to have Nine Thousand with him, three men of war, & near one Hundred Transports. I think the British Ministry must be crazy to think of carrying on the war against all the Powers that are against her, and her Army so reduced in this part of the

world. I do not mean to write about News, but this I will say about Carolina & everywhere on this Continent they get worsted, & are confined to very narrow limits, & if the Winter was not so near there would be a great Chance that New York with more than twenty sail of Line of Battle Ships would fall into the hands of Americans. With the aid of the whole French Fleet [the American force] is vastly superior to the English. The French Army hold themselves subject to the orders of Genl. Washington.

"I have not desired Mess. Wits & Delmestre [the merchants at Nantes] to keep the money or Goods on a near prospect of peace, but if a month should be likely to decide, it would be a pity to have the goods at a war price & war risk. . . . Your son W^m's^ eyes are better, he is still at College. In Vacancy he goes to a French School in this Town."

[CLXV.] "Nov. 24. 1781. To Mr W^m^ Taylor.

". . . A young man named Jn^o^ Johnson was taken on board Capt Waters in a Mast Ship & carried to New York, & who we have heard is sick in a Hospital Ship. Should be obliged to you to enquire for him either in the Prison Ship or Hospital & if he needs money let him have one or two Guineas, & that you would do your endeavours to get him released or Exchanged, his sister lived with me & we know John to be a very clever fellow, being always kind in supporting his mother & family with what money he could get.

"Your cousin Amory sends her love to you & family, as does also your uncle from Milton. . . ."

[CLXVI.] "Dec. 14. 1781. To John Amory.

"Your petition is not yet preferred as advised to the Contrary at present. Your Estate is not yet tried, I am not without hopes of saving it. . . . [Encloses bills.] Fitzm. Connor in whose favour they are drawn is a Capt in the 16th Regt Collin Campbell, Indorser, is a Capt 92 Regt. I bought a Bill of £20 Stg. . . . which I sent to your Brother Mr Wm. Taylor to Remit to you. If the war continues please to invest the Above Bills in Saleable goods & ship to me in some fast sailing Vessel of force. . . . The war must make things dear in Holland. [England declared war on Holland in 1780 because the Dutch, contrary to treaty, were supplying the Americans with ammunition and other things.] I have been told that Tea & some things are dearer in Holland than in France. As you are on the spot I should think you might find many things manufactured in France, such as Silks, Cambrick, Cloth, Fustians, Jeans, fans, or anything you thought would answer. I would just observe to you that People dress as much & Extravagant as ever, the Women lay out much on their heads in Flowers & Gauze of a good white. Hoop petticoats seem to be a crawling in. If there should be an Expedition to New York next spring, I should suppose a French Fleet & Army will come this way which will make a good convoy & perhaps Bills cheap. At present they are a rising. I think if the English ant mad they will allow Independence & make peace next summer. I hope we shall be happy enough to see you once more and you see your numerous Children who are at present all well. . . . Wishing you health Your affec. Bro.

"[Directed to:] Mr John Amory, at Mons. Rigals, Merch^{t} Modes, Brussells."

[CLXVII.] December 7th, 1781, he speaks of "Mr Lowell the lawyer"; and "my nephew who lived with Mr Lowell and is lately sworn into the Inferior Court" [*i.e.*, Rufus G. Amory].

[CLXVIII.] "April 20. 1782. To John Amory.

". . . One chance [of sending Bills] by a frigate is worth six by a common Vessel. . . . There being so many Indorsements to be put on these Bills, I set 3 of your sons to write them. Tho^{s} had signed one, being drawn in his name on which I set Rufus, Katy & Becky to write on one, so that you have the handwriting of 5 of your Sons & 2 of your Daughters on them.

". . . but this you may set down for a certainty there can be no peace without these States are a distinct Nation. If this Letter and Bills are taken as the Indorsements are so particular they can be of no use to the Captors, & as they are designed for a person in your situation, banished from a Family of 10 Children for taking an Oath to the King of England if the Captors would deliver them to Mr Dowling of the house of Messrs Dowling Brett & Hardingham of London, or Mr W^{m} Taylor of New York, they will forward them to you, & so doing they will do an Act of humanity to a distrest Family."

Here follows proof that the habit of smuggling with a good conscience was not at once thrown off when revenue laws were made by Congress instead of by Parliament.

[CLXIX.] "June 10. 1782. To John.

". . . Coming on here in the winter season . . . is safest, as now at this season is very dangerous on the coast, there being the Chatham which is a fifty gun ship & 4 or 5 others cruising in our Bay. Now if there should be a good opportunity for a Vessel from Amsterdam that would be supposed to arrive here in November or after, the Chance might be good. And the English goods, except they be prize goods are prohibited by Congress, yet I think they might be so managed that by Invoice and mixed with Holland goods, that there would be but little difficulty. And English goods sell best, but *some* Scotch Drilles would sell. Of goods from Holland Yarns, Paper, Card-wire, Looking Glasses & other things that you may see. People are as extravagant as ever."

[CLXX.] "June 21. 1782.

". . . You say you sent . . . some things for the Children. Your children are all well, and I believe it would give you satisfaction to see the whole ten, more especially the three oldest who are in business & do very well. Rufus & Thomas making a very good appearance as men, & John too tho' not so large. When we shall obtain leave for you to return I do not know. Your Estate is not yet tried at neither of the Courts, and hope the temper of the times will become such as you will not be robbed of your Estate. . . . I have examined the Act of Congress, the words of which are 'Any goods of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or its dependencies shipt after April 82 in Neutral Bottoms or Vessells belonging to subjects of these United States shall be

condemned, excepting Prize Goods taken going to a port for condemnation'—but says nothing of Goods shipt in Vessels belonging to the Powers at war, such as France, Spain, or Holland; therefore should suppose English Goods in such vessels would not be liable to condemnation."

[CLXXI.] "July 16. 1782. To John.

"I observe what you say. . . . While the Paper money was passing I did not know but all debts would be lost, & therefore was careful about suffering all I had passing out of my hands, more especially in sending Bills of Exch., as when they came back protested I might be obliged to take paper for them. When the Depreciation Act came out it gave me some encouragement, & I remitted more freely what I had by me, & when paper money stopt & gold & silver were the only medium I was more encouraged, supposing I might receive some money for Debts, & parted with what English & West India goods I had, & turned them into Exchange, but I was greatly deceived in the matter having receiv'd little or nothing. I was in hopes the people who owed me would receive money of those who were in Debt to them, but they say they cannot pay their debts & now again all hopes are blasted for the Court have passed an Act that if an execution comes out against a Debtor, the Debtor may turn out to the Sheriff of the County where he lives to be apprized by the people of the County either of the following Articles, at the Debtor's option—Swine, Sheep, Cattle, Deal Boards, Grain. The Sheriff shall take them in pay to deliver them on the Spot to the Debtor [Creditor ?] or his Attorney. Now by this rule a Man in the Co. of Lincoln, Kennebeck, must take

deal Boards or anything the Man chooses to give him at Barrington in Berkshire. . . . By these means the Debts seem to be in a manner lost. And the purchase I made was in your name & mine, . . . your part is libelled, & if any persons do not pay the rent, it will not do to sue them, & in the Country the Tax falling on all real estate, the Tenant finds it extremely difficult to raise more than will pay his tax & I am paid nothing for rent. All these things ought to be taken into the Scale.

"If I had been a venturesome Man perhaps I might have made a great deal, & made it easy to comply with your wish, or perhaps have lost it all. If I could have seen [foreseen ?] the rapid sink of the money I might have made a great deal by running in debt, my Credit being very good at that time. But as I chose to have money by me before I purchased, I seldom got the value of anything I sold or bought. And the goods purchased at that time were liable to be taken from you by the British if they got the better, & . . . quite unexpectedly Regulating Acts came by which as also by Mobs your property was taken from you & a Man was obliged to take such a sum for his Articles whether he would or not. In short the Paper Money hurt both my Body & Mind, as I was acting for others as well as myself, & made me unfit for business & entirely incapacitated me; but I have this Satisfaction that tho' my purse is less yet for my years my health is good & my mind more resigned to the vicissitudes of Fortune. . . . A good proportion of the debts I took the money was not worth one third, & perhaps before I had an opportunity to lay it out, one sixth of what I took it for, and the taking this money I could not avoid, for it fell so low

before people dare refuse to take it for Debts, and I dare by no means be the first because of your absence which made me more an object of resentment & as I several times made attempts to refuse & endeavouring to get a price for my Articles for which I got abused in the Newspapers & Handbills as a Monopolizer & an Extortioner, and received a number of [*word illegible unless it is* incendiary] letters, and a considerable number of people was carted out of Town for that, & supposed to be the enemies of their country, & indeed my house was searched for me at one time. I took my Horse & rode out. I very well remember that after the goods were wrote for we wrote an account of the dangerous Times wh. were coming on & desired them not to send the goods, which however they chose to do & take the risque, of which we unhappily trusted out & in a manner lost & I have a right to say our troubles are owing to the Representatives of them People, the Commons of Old England undertaking to be the Commons of America, which they had no right to, and which the people of Ireland have very plainly told them they have not over them, and as to leaving there can be no people there but what are interested."

The people of Ireland here intended are not the Irish Celts (who had no voice at all in the eighteenth century), but the English in Ireland, whose position and contention at this time were nearly those of the English in America. In both countries the colonists' claim was that they, like Scotland from 1603 to 1707, were subject to the English Crown but not to the English Parliament. The bitterness of the constitutional question lay in the commercial question which it covered.

The Acts of Parliament between 1693 and 1698 had been a deliberate attempt to ruin Irish in the interests of English commerce, after which the Declaratory Act of 1766 asserted Parliament's right to legislate for Ireland as well as to tax America. From the American agitation the colony in Ireland gained not only moral support but practical advantage. The war emptied Ireland of troops, American privateers attacked her coasts, and it was unavoidable that a force of volunteers should be raised. These Irish volunteers, it is acknowledged, won the legislative independence granted to Ireland in 1782.

[CLXXII.] "Sept. 2. 1782.

"Dear Brother . . .

"We now seem to have a pleasing prospect of peace which hope will not vanish. If it should take place should be happy to see you as soon as possible. We do not move yet in your Petition to the General Court neither has your estate been yet tried. We are afraid a refusal would hasten the Trial, & we are in hopes to keep that yet off. Whenever I can find the way clear in order that you may come home, the first of a peace shall push it; and should think it advisable that you make Interest with the Embassadors from America to obtain leave from them as it will be very important to you to be here the first of peace, more especially if you bring over goods. Tho I think goods are by no means scarce & that goods will not come so universally from England as they used to do but the several Articles will come from the different parts of Europe where they are manufactured cheapest. Tho' Doctor Franklin & the other Gentlemen may say it is none of their business to interfere with the Absentees of the different

States, yet I think a recommendation from them [would?] admit you as the times grow more liberal, & as I hope in peace they will be still more so. We hear the Congress is to sit at Brussels, which I am glad of as it may give you an Opportunity to make yourself acquainted with them gentlemen & perhaps useful to them. Doctr Cooper has told me he would write Doctr Franklin by this conveyance & acquaint him with the Circumstances of your Affair & beg his Friendship and Attention. By a Letter which Brother Newell received from Mr Caleb Blanchard we hear of your being in London in June."

[CLXXIII.] "Nov. 21st 1782.

". . . The trade of this place is now more open for English Goods, as the Acts of this State for condemning are repealed, & they may now come from Holland, France or Spain."

[CLXXIV.] On April 24th, 1783, Jonathan Amory writes in his own name a letter to be sent to a number of English firms, referring to former dealings which they had had with Amorys, Taylor, and Rogers, and announcing that: "As Peace has taken place I propose to Import some Goods that is in your way." On the 25th he desires "these goods may be shipped on acct of Jonathan & John Amory, not knowing our future fate in regard to Messrs Taylor & Rogers. . . . There seems to be a difficulty at present about receiving Absentees."

[CLXXV.] "May 12.

"Dear Brother. . . . I recd a letter from Mr Geo. Deblois from Hallifax acquainting me you would not leave Eng-

land till you knew you could be amicably received here. Your friends were glad . . . as they were afraid if you came over you would be put to trouble, as Mr John Erving jr. who went from here a Minor has ventured to return is put into Gaol with liberty of the yard. The same party who ruled formerly & with some ill-natured that rule now. When the Court sets I expect they will do something on the matter, & if I am not very much dissuaded from it shall set your Children to put in a Petition for you."

[CLXXVI.] "June 15th 1783. To Prime & Co.

". . . I have been to Providence, forty miles from Boston to see my Brother as he is not yet allowed to come. I carried with me six of his children. The People there are more liberal than they are here & say he may stay with safety, & when the Congress has settled on the subject of Absentees expect to get him here."

[CLXXVII.] "Providence, June 13th 1783. To Messrs Harrison & Ansley.

"Gentlemen,—It is with peculiar pleasure that we renew after so long an intermission a correspondence which we flatter ourselves has been to our mutual satisfaction. . . ."

Jonathan writes on November 19th, 1783: "My Brother is gone from Providence to Newport." On December 28th [CLXXVIII.] John writes from Providence: "I have been at this place above six months, not being permitted to return to Boston, but as the definitive Treaty is now arriv'd I flatter myself I shall soon have that pleasure. In the mean time I have the happiness of seeing some or other of my family almost

every day as I am only forty miles from Boston." To a M. Chouvet, who had been his friend at Brussels [CLXXIX.], he writes: "I am only one day's ride from Boston. I had the great satisfaction of finding my Children in good Health; they were grown entirely out of my knowledge except the eldest." On the 20th of April, 1784, he writes a business letter, dated Boston.

[CLXXX.] "August 21st 1784. To Harrison & Ansley.

". . . We have not time to enlarge as we shall this day be imploy'd in the melancholy office of attending the remains of our Brother Thomas to the Grave. His health has been such for some time as to leave us but little hopes of his continuing long with us, his death however was very sudden as he had been out a walking the day he died."

[CLXXXI.] On the 7th of October the firm inform Messrs. Harrison and Ansley that their goods are selling very low—"Even at this price we can scarcely raise any money from them, & we dare not credit them as the Country is almost exhausted of money. We shall therefore desist from any further Importations at least till we have paid for what we already have." They are sending to Mr. Harrison as a gift "a Quintal of the best table fish." In November they mention drafts from E. Amory (*i.e.*, Elizabeth, the widow of their brother Thomas) and that "Sister Amory also wrote by Captain Scott to Mr Rogers." On December 2nd John Amory is still "not admitted as a citizen." In July of the next year they lament "the almost impossibility of collecting

our debts." It must have been soon after this that John recovered his status and property.

Mr. T. C. Amory's books of copies from family papers contain one which he prefaces with the note :

"PETITION OF JOHN AMORY

to Legislature of Massachusetts for permission to return home after Revolutionary War. Original draught (apparently), lent me Feb. 23, 1855, by Jonathan Amory of Jamaica Plains to whom it was lent by General Sumner."

"To His Excellency the Governor, to the Honourable Council and to the Honourable House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts.

"The humble Petition of John Amory native of Boston in said state Showeth

"That your Petitioner went from Boston to England with his wife in May 1775, being a voyage he had long intended ;— that he would not have gone from home and left his large family of ten children had he not assured himself that the unhappy troubles which had then begun would have soon subsided, being persuaded that two Countries whose interests and whose wishes were then to remain united would have found out some means of accomodation, especially as the Honourable Congress were then sitting for that purpose;—that so far from wishing at that time to escape any troubles in which his Country might be involved in defence of her liberties, that no consideration what ever would have tempted *him* to have gone away had he thought a war would have taken place.

"That with regard to his political sentiments at that time

he can not only appeal to many gentlemen who he hopes are now in Boston and with whom he had at that period the happiness to be intimately acquainted & who have been always considered as zealous in the cause of their country, but he also begs leave to annex the copy of a Letter wrote by himself, though in the name of the Company of which he was one, to their Correspondents in most of the principal trading towns in England & Scotland dated in September 1774 and which agreeable to his intention was inserted in the public prints in London & other places and which was well known at that time by many gentlemen who he hopes are now in Boston to have been written by him;—that he can hope that his sending all his children, as he did when he came away, into Connecticut will be considered as a clear proof that he did not mean to take a part against his Country.

"That though he may have been so unhappy as to have differed at times from some who were zealous in the cause of Liberty in some matters, particularly with regard to the importation of goods from England into Boston at the time when the non-importation agreement had ceased at New York which he then considered as a useless Sacrifice of the trade of Massachusetts, as also with regard to the propriety of paying for the Tea destroyed in Boston, in which he was joined in sentiment by many who were then & are still he presumes considered as high Patriots yet he can with an honest boldness assert that he was always firm on the great question of American Liberty, & on every occasion openly avowed his sentiments that a submission to that doctrine held up by Parliament to bind America in all cases was slavish, & that it ought never to be admitted by an American;—that pos-

sessed with these principles he can with truth say that besides the settlement of his private affairs he was particularly induced to go to England at that time in hopes that even in the narrow sphere in which he moved he might be of some service to his country at a time when questions relating to the interests and liberties of America were agitating there;—that in pursuance of his design he sent a note to Lord North soon after his arrival there, letting him know that a gentleman lately arrived from America and who was a friend as well to England as America wished for an opportunity to communicate his sentiments to him as he flattered himself that he could suggest some things which might tend to heal the unhappy breach which had taken place. But that this note had no effect and that your Petitioner never had an opportunity of seeing the Minister to whom he wished to represent that he was well assured that the Declaratory Act by which Great Britain arrogated to herself a right of taxing America at will would never be admitted by America, and that unless it was rescinded in the fullest manner, no acomodation could be hoped for;—that soon finding contrary to his hopes & expectations that the troubles in America were likely to increase he determined to return home as soon as possible, but no convenient opportunity offering that season he was obliged to stay until the next year and that then being in treaty for his passage and on the point of coming away his wife was unhappily taken sick & languished till the next spring and then died;—that soon afterwards finding many difficulties & hazards in attempting to get home any other way he embarked for New York with design to get to his family as soon as possible; that he arrived in New York in the summer of 1777; that im-

mediately on his arrival he was told that it was expected the passengers should go before the Mayor to give in their names, that accordingly passing with a friend the next morning by the Mayor's office his friend proposed his going in there, which he did thinking nor meaning nothing but to give in his name, but the Mayor after taking his name tendered him an oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, & that it being unexpectedly put to him and not knowing what might be the consequences of a refusal in a garrison or Town filled with armed troops, and also being in surprise & not having sufficient time to recollect himself he took it ;—that soon after he went to Rhode Island in hopes to get permission to go to his family but was refused and was able to obtain leave only the next winter, and then it was in consequence of his assuring the Commanding Officer that as he had taken an oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain he did not mean to take up arms against him, but only wished to remain quietly with his family :—that he then went to Boston & was examined before the Honourable General Assembly then sitting with respect to his motives for going away, and his conduct while in England, to all which he flatters himself he gave satisfactory answer ;—that the question was then put to him whether he would renounce the oath of allegiance to Great Britain & take an oath of allegiance to the States, to which he answered that he was ready to give every security that could be required for his good behaviour and obedience to every law but that he could not then with a quiet mind swear he would bear arms against the King of Great Britain ;—that upon this the Honourable Court came to the conclusion that he should be sent back to Rhode Island and that thus he found himself unhappily

obliged soon to quit once more his native country & his dear children.

" Your Petitioner further begs leave to set forth that he has not ever on any occasion whatever had the least intercourse with the British Ministry, or ever applied for or received the least support from them, that he has not either before or since his leaving America intentionally done any thing contrary to the interest of his country; but if that from the misconception and mistake in any [*blank*] his conduct has been such as not to have met with the approbation of his countrymen he is heartily sorry and hopes for their forgiveness and your Petitioner humbly prays that he may be suffered to return to his native country & to his children, he not having now any objection against taking the oath of allegiance to the United States of America to which he objected when before proposed to him, as a principal reason which then influenced him, which was his having obtained leave to go to Boston upon the condition of his not bearing arms against the King of Great Britain, is now removed; And as the oath which he took at New York, though not properly compulsive was by no means voluntary.

" Your Petitioner prays leave to add that while he has been observing with concern the liberties of England mouldering away, and nothing scarcely but the name of a free constitution left her, he has with the greatest satisfaction seen published the free & happy constitution proposed to be established in the State of the Massachusetts Bay & which he finds with pleasure to be the admiration of Europe; & that he can truly say that besides his wishes to return to his native country on account of his family that there is no form of

Government upon Earth that he so much desires to live under, and that if he is so happy as to have the prayer of his petition granted he hopes to prove himself no unworthy member of it as he shall make it his study to evince by the whole tenor of his conduct his attachment to it as well as to the common interests of the United States of America in general and as in duty bound shall ever pray for their prosperity." [187]

[CLXXXII.] "September 5th, 1785. Jonathan Amory to Benj. Huntington, Esq, Norwich [Connecticut].

"Sir,

"In compliance with your desire that I should produce some evidence against what has been alleged against me in order to invalidate our just claim, I now enclose the Testimony of respectable Gentlemen, which you may make such use of as you shall think proper. I could have had any number to have signed it but thought a greater number unnecessary.

"As it is alleged that I kept myself out of the way of taking paper money I can make it appear that from March 1775 to July 1776 I took to our great loss upwards of Thirty Thousand Pounds in Paper Money, a great proportion of it was for debts due in hard money & that without any allowance.

"Upon a slight view I find that I received about Four thousand Pounds from Gentlemen all in your Neighbourhood, wholly for old debts . . . [a list of their names follows].

"With regard to my political sentiments I can with confidence appeal to all my Acquaintance that I was a Whig in

principle & that I never was considered as a Tory but on the contrary a warm assister of the Liberties of America & always denying y^e^ right of Parliament to tax her. And tho the care of property which I could not remove obliged me to remain in Town (as many other true friends to their Country did) yet it is well known that I never took part with the Enemy by joining any of the Associations for defending the Town tho' strongly urged to it.

"With regard to my Brother John Amory I can say that he left America in May 1775 with an Intention to return & under the full persuasion that the unhappy dispute between G. B. & America would have been accomodated, but that (altho he had taken Passage) by the Sickness & Death of his Wife, & other unavoidable accidents he was prevented returning till an Order had passed forbidding the Return of Absentees; that during his Residence Abroad, he resided in Holland, France & Flanders, that he never applied for or received any Pension from the British Government & that immediately on the Peace he return'd to America, & has now the Special Licence of the Governor & Council to reside here.

"Inclosd you'l find a Circular Letter to all our Correspondents in England & Scotland w^ch^ sufficiently shews our Sentiments at that time. It was printed in the English Papers & was known to be from us—no less than 12 or 15 of them were sent."

[CLXXXIII.] On the 22nd of October, 1785, the firm tell an English correspondent that "The Goods are wanted, but the extreme scarcity of money prevents the sale of them."

On November 8th they speak of "Mr Marston's protested bill. . . . Mr Eliot . . . tells us that Mr Marston has put his effects into his hands. . . . Mr Marston has been extremely unfortunate in an adventure to Virginia, under the care of his brother who sold the goods to a House w^ch^ failed. This we have from Mr Eliot who has the most favourable opinion of the Integrity of Mr Marston. . . ."

[CLXXXIV.] "Nov. 28^th^ 1785.

". . . During the war our best debts were paid off in Paper Money, whilst all that we owed were due in England. We have the satisfaction however that we have paid them off."

[CLXXXV.] "October 16. 1786. To Dowling & Son.

". . . Mr. Simpson has not been able to pay anything neither do we find that Mr Willard has remitted you anything—w^ch^ we are sorry for. Prosecuting the sureties in the present time would answer no purpose as the principal surety lives in N. H. where Laws have been made (since our taking the securities) making Land set off at an appraisement a satisfaction of an Execution; & this is in a manner annihilating property as in the first place you are generally cheated one half if not two thirds in the valuation of the Land, & in the next place you can neither sell nor rent them to any profit. It is in this manner we suffer ourselves, having £4 or 5000 due to us in that State. Mrs Willard the other Surety what she has is in Debts, which she cannot raise a penny from, neither we distress her, being a very old infirm Lady whose friendship we have been honored with many years. Add to

this the present Confusion w^ch^ no doubt your News-Papers will be filled with. Our Courts of Justice are stop'd by Mobs & all Government is in a manner at an End. The General Court now sitting was called together on this occasion, but such a universal discontent prevails on acc^t^ of Taxes which the farmer cant pay & such distress among an infinite number of Debtors, who from y^e^ Scarcity of money are unable to satisfy their creditors, that the Court are unable to find a remedy for these evils.—At present it seems that nothing will satisfy the body of the people but an exemption from Taxes, & either paper-money or Laws making Land & personal Estate of any kind a tender for Debt. If this takes place it will be the utter ruin of a great number of people who have invested their whole property in public securities w^ch^ are of no value if taxes cant be raised."

The Letter-Books end with several letters to Harrisons and Ansley, sending bills of exchange as usual. Nothing is said of dissolving partnership or retiring from business. The last date is November 20th, 1786.

CHAPTER XV

Family Letters, 1785-1805

I AM flatter'd," writes John Coffin[188] to his sister Elizabeth, March 7th, 1785, " by your desire of seeing me in Boston, there are reasons which prevent that pleasure at present. I owe Money there that I cannot at present pay, another reason is my expectation of being busily employ'd in my 'Still-House as soon as our River is open to Navigation, besides which I shou'd not chuse to expose myself to insult, which I am pretty sure wou'd be the consequence of a visit just now, but when I get over the material obstacles I shall not let trifles prevent the very great pleasure I expect in the sight of my Boston Friends —I have inclos'd you a general Power of Attor^y^ I dont chuse to give directions for the sale of any part of my real Estate in Boston, as I have sent to Eng^d^ my Acc^t^ of Losses in Boston in consequence of the part I took in the Rebellion, demanding compensation agreeable to Act of Parliament appointing Commissioners to examine the claims of the Loyalists &c, although I have not the least expectation of receiving anything on that score for I understand those Persons having demands that dont

make their appearance in London, are totally excluded & those who have gone Home on that Business, have not such prospects as wou'd encourage anyone else to take the same Steps, but while the compensation is in any degree uncertain it wou'd have an ill appearance to give directions for selling.

"I shou'd be very well satisfied with your sole judgment in the management of my little affairs in Boston but with so good and just an adviser as our Cousin John Amory I think it not possible anything can be done in them other ways than I cou'd wish. . . . I am afraid Mr Rufus Amory is mistaken when he says the libel against my Stillhouse & Land on which it stands was unfinish'd at the time of the Treaty & was therefore dismissed without Judgment, as I have been inform'd it has been sold, which I suppose cou'd not have been done without Order of Court. I shou'd be glad this matter might be further inquir'd into by Mr Rufus Amory, likewise two Lotts of Land, one small Lot opposite to where Mr Ben. White liv'd when I left Boston the other a large lot to the Eastward of the House I liv'd in, bounded Southerly by Essex Street, Northerly by blind Lane near Checkly Meeting House, formerly call'd.

"Must refer you to Cousin L. Deblois for the particular situation of our Family. We are by no means unhappy tho oblidg'd to pay the strictest attention to œconomy. We are in good Health & Spirits & are so happy as to have a very agreable round of acquaintance & lastly we have a family of Children whose Conduct has hitherto met our approbation. If we cou'd have you and a few other Boston friends here we cou'd not wish to change our situation. Offer my kindest love to all your young Family, with affectionate regard to

every branch of the Amory for whom I have the highest esteem. I sincerely pity you all on Acct of the situation of my worthy Cousin Mrs Paine—believe me my dear Sister your Truely Affectionate Friend

"Jn° Coffin.

"I feel much for Mrs Sheaffe's misfortunes. I very much wish my Friends to be attentive to her.

"J. C."

Mrs. Amory was administering not only her husband's property, but also in his place the estate of her mother. In sending some accounts of this to Quebec, she writes,[189] November 21st, 1786: "Dear Brother, I am now Endeavg to bring everything to a Close relative to the Estate. . . . Acknowledge, my Brother, your Approbation of my proceeding in Gragg's Affair by taking his Note in my Own Name which Note . . . shall remain in my hands as Collateral Security for your debt to the Estate. . . . Have this moment heard of this Oppy. Dinner is now waiting, the Turkey is growing cold & Mrs Coffin & Mrs Emmerson very Hungry, they desire to be remember'd to you & dear Sister & to Tho' & to Isaac & dear Nathl if Arriv'd from England. Do ask dear Natt Coffin to answer that part of his Letter relative to those Notes put into his Hands for to pay John Amory's debt &c. Urge his settlement of Father's and Mother's Estate." Her brother thanks her,[190] February, 1787, "for the deal of trouble you & Mr Rufus Amory had with the papers, which I rec'd in good order, & have expectation of their being of use to me with ye Commissioners who are expected here next Summer to examine into the

Mrs Thomas Amory. (Elizabeth Coffin.)
1741-1822.
From a Painting by Gilbert Stuart.

claims of Loyalists." His claims were acknowledged, and he received promises (never fulfilled) of money and land. Lord Dorchester when Governor-General of Canada made him Surveyor-General of Woods. "Your Brother & Family are well," a Bostonian visiting Quebec [191] in 1788 writes to Mrs. Amory, "and I hope and believe are happy. He is much respected and esteemed in this Country and has a great share of the attention of Lord Dorchester."

Another of the Coffins, in Canada just then on leave, was Isaac, one of the cashier's sons, a captain in the navy. Possibly he had something to do with his young cousin Billy Amory's developing a taste for the sea. Billy, one of Mrs. Thomas Amory's fatherless boys, had now reached the age of thirteen. Mr. T. C. Amory seems to have heard a tradition that he without his mother's knowledge offered himself to the commander of a British cruiser and was taken to England to be made a midshipman. He could not have had that privilege without influence to obtain it for him. All I can vouch for is that he was in Boston [192] in the autumn of 1790 when he was sixteen, and again in December, 1792, when his expenses include the hire several times of a saddle-horse; that in March, 1793, his guardians buy a sea-bed and pillow for him, and pay "twenty-five heavy guineas sterling," reckoned at £35 16*s*. 8*d*., to Benjamin Joy for "a passage to England on the ship John from Boston to London," giving thirty heavy guineas to Captain Codman with directions to deliver the same to Captain Isaac Coffin for William's support. The French Convention had just then declared war on England, and Captain Coffin, in command of the "Melampus," thirty-six guns, was in active service in the Channel. William

Amory draws his income that year and the next in London (through his uncle John's son Thomas Amory, a merchant often in England); visits Boston in 1795, and is there again in May, 1797. At this time the Revolutionary Government of France, unable to drag the United States into war against England, ordered the American Minister out of its territory, and began capturing American merchantmen at sea. William Amory's brother Jonathan writing [193] at Boston, August 10th, 1797, says: "Accounts were received in town yesterday by a Letter from Mr Avery in Paris to his father here, that our Secretary Mr Pickering's answer to Mons. Adet had been there received, and much circulated—that it was taken up by the Council of 500, read with much applause, and caused them to demand of the Directory a statement of their proceedings against this Country—It may be a means of awakening them to a sense of their mal-conduct and prevent our suffering from their spoliations—by their atrocities—Report says! Mr Pinckney has received from the Directory an invitation to return from Holland; an Exchange of Ministers has taken place both in England and France & that from England three Envoys Extraordinary are appointed to treat for peace—thus you see glimmerings of what we have long anxiously waited for—an expected quiet in Europe."

Almost as Jonathan wrote, a letter was being written to him by his cousin, a son of Gilbert Deblois,[194] giving the gossip of the moment among American merchants in France.

"Bordeaux, Aug^{t} 11th 1797.

"My Dear Friend

"My last respects was of y^{e} 2^{d} Curr^{t} p^{r} Brig^{t} Sally,

Cap^{t}. Harlow. I then wrote you I was Waiting a Passport for Paris; am sorry to say as yet am Unable to Procure One; tho' my friends have made great Interest; Mr R^{d}: Codman, *Mr Adet*, Mr Dallarde, & Skipwith the Consull General, have been & are still Endeavouring to Answer my Wishes; Mr Codman from whom I have rec^{d} 2 Letters, has behaved Extreemly kind; I hope by this Days Post from Paris, to receive agreable Intelligence. On the 9th Inst. the Department of Bordeaux rec'd Orders from Mons^{r} Tallerand, the New Appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, that 2 Envoys from America was Daily Expected in France; & should they Arrive at this Place, to shew them Every mark of respect; & furnish them with Every thing Necessary to Proceed on to Paris.—this looks Favourable; The present Minister is thought a Worthy Man; was in Boston in 1794, & a freind to America—quite the reverse of *Delacroix;* the freinds to America are Extreme Anxious for the Arrival of the Commissioners; as their Privateers & Men of Warr, are Daily Capturing American Vessells, & their Presence would put a Stop to the Bussiness. Yesterday was Celebrated in this City, the *Massacre* of the Swiss Guards; in my Oppinion a Day that Ought to have been Forgotten.—Inclosed you have 2 price Currents, *after Perusing them* please Cause them to be Deliverd to the persons Directed, wth my best Wishes; tell my Valued Freind Tom; I should have wrote him by this Opp^{y} had I had any Pleasing Subject to write On, that tho' 3000 mile Distant; that he; as well as *yourself*, are constantly in my mind. The Bearer Cap^{t} Tilden a Modest, Intelligent Man, Can give you Every Information of me; & the Prospect of Affairs in this Country.—Tell Stephen I am Extreemly

sorry he Neglected to give me the Letter to Mr Parker as he would [have] been of service to me in my Settlement with *Vans;* he is at Paris?—Codman & Parker, are both immensely rich; & supposed worthy Characters.—the Inclosed Letter to Mrs D. you'l Please forward to her, & Charge the Postage.—I must beg of you, that should she not *be Happy* in her Present Lodgings to Insist On her removing; as from a Circumstance that took place just at the moment of my Departure, I have had my Doubts, wether She would be Agreably Situated.—Make my Warmest Wishes Acceptable to One & all, your Familly.

"I remain with much Esteem,
"Yours Sincerely,
"W. Deblois.

"(1 o'clock) the Post is arrived from Paris; no Letters—I have a prospect of obtaining a Passport, from the *Municipality here;* through the means of a Respectable French House, who have Enter'd into Bonds for my being an American; & that I would not be Ingaged in any *Riot* at *Paris; Against the Republick.*—but it is not *yet Settl*[d]—Mr —— our Consul here, is Just Arrived from a Visit to Paris; a man largely Concern'd in *Privateering;* & of *Course* a *rich man;* his Characture —*Mum. bad Enough* but not the worst of our Consulls in this Country? he tells my freind Gray that Dan[l] Parker has Lessend his fortune £100000 Stg in his Late Speculations; in a Species of Paper; Called Inscriptions; by which many of our Countrymen, have been *Barrel'd,* alias *Georgia Land*—but he is still *known* to be *really* worth £250000 Stg. When I get to Paris I will write you on Politicks, In Confidence

that my name will be Sacred. I shall then shew you the real Charactures of some Americans here.—I find People are much Divided respecting Mr Tallerand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; some say he is for, others say he is against America; but his Orders respecting our Commissioners is a FACT, & you can Draw your own Conclusion.

" W. D.

" P.S. Augt 11th 9 P.M. With great Pleasure I inform you, through the means of Mr Tilden; *the Bearer;* & a French House in this City; whose names I Cannot write, but Inclose you their Card? I have now my Passport in my *Pocket;* & shall Leave this Place the 14th Inst being the *first* Dilligence that goes to Paris—& think myself very fortunate.—Adieu.—

" [Directed:] Mr Jona Amory, tertius
" Merchant
" Boston.

" Fav.d by
" Capt Tilden— "

When the Commissioners arrived the French Government, refusing to treat with them openly, made a private offer to let the merchantmen alone if the United States would bribe heavily certain members of the Directory. This insult being answered in America by a storm of anger and the prompt creation of a navy, William Amory transferred his allegiance[195] from England to the United States, obtained a commission as lieutenant of marines, and was more or less in active service during the two or three years of irregular warfare which

followed before the fall of the Directory and the First Consul's Treaty of Peace with President Adams. He served afterwards with the fleet which put an end to that immemorial terror for American commerce, the Tripoli pirate. In 1807 he returned with the "Constitution" to Boston, too much out of health to sail again, and died November 16th, 1808, aged thirty-four.

Commodore Silas Talbot writes[196] to Mr. Secretary Stoddard, May 12th, 1800:

". . . I have now to acquaint you, Sir, that I have been for some time meditating an enterprise against a French armed ship lying at Port Plate protected by her own guns and a fort of three heavy cannon. It was my first intention to have gone in with the Constitution and to have silenced the fort and ship which has all her guns on one side to cooperate with the fort in defending against any hostile force but after the best information I could gain I found it to be somewhat dangerous to approach the entrance of the harbor with a ship of the draft of water of the Constitution.

"Having detained the sloop Sally which had left Port Plate a few days before, and was to have returned there previous to her return to the United States, I conceived that this sloop would be a suitable vessel for a disguise. I therefore manned her at sea from the Constitution with about ninety brave seamen and marines, the latter to be commanded by Captain Cormick and Lieutenant Amory, when on shore; but the entire command I gave to Mr Isaac Hull my first lieutenant, who entered the harbor of Port Plate yesterday in open day with his men in the hold of the sloop except five or

six to work her in. They ran alongside the ship and boarded her, sword in hand, without the loss of a man, killed or wounded. At the moment the ship was boarded, agreeably to my plan, Captain Cormick and Lieutenant Amory landed with the marines, up to their necks in water, and spiked all the cannon in the fort before the commanding officer had time to recollect and prepare himself for defence. . . . I feel myself under great obligations to Lieutenant Hull, Captain Cormick and Lieutenant Amory for their avidity in undertaking the scheme I had planned, and for the handsome manner and great address with which they performed this daring adventure.

"The ship, I understand, mounts four sixes and two nines; she was formerly the British packet Sandwich, and from the boasting publications at the Cape and the declaration of the officers, she is one of the fastest sailors that swims. She ran three or four years (if I forget not) as a privateer out of France, . . . She is a beautiful copper-bottomed ship. Her cargo consists principally of sugar and coffee. . . . The capture was made about twelve o'clock. When taken the ship was stripped, having only her lower masts in; her rigging was coiled & stowed below. Before sunset Lieut. Hull had her completely rigged, royal yards athwart, guns scaled, men quartered, and in every respect ready for service.

"... I am etc

"Silas Talbot."

The naval connection of the family was extended by the marriage of William's youngest brother, Nathaniel Amory, with a niece of Commodore Preble, U.S.N., and of his eldest

brother, the first Thomas Coffin Amory, with a daughter of Captain John Linzee, R.N., uncle to the wife of Admiral Sir Samuel (created Viscount) Hood. Captain Linzee's son and nephew were also English admirals. Lord Hood, who in 1772, when in command of the North Atlantic Squadron, had been present at Captain Linzee's wedding with Susanna Inman (daughter of a Loyalist but niece to John Rowe) was present in the same room in 1795 at Hannah Rowe Linzee's wedding with Mr. Amory. Loyalty did not involve any prejudice against Boston. "Sink or Swim," writes Sir Isaac Coffin[197] in 1827, "I *never* can forget the Place of my Nativity, or cease to wish Prosperity to it." Sir Isaac had property in America in the care of his cousin Jonathan Amory *tertius*, at whose house, 7, Park Street, he made long visits. "I had fully intended at least to pass a week with you," he writes[198] in 1817, when for some reason returning to England at short notice—"to disclose to you the secret of the accumulation in the American Funds . . . it is for a Charitable Institution, so as you are known to be one of the best of Men: help me as well as you can." This charitable institution, the floating nautical school—now altered—at Nantucket, so delighted its founder that he once took the schooner,[199] manned wholly by lads of his own name, on show to Quebec, flying the Stars and Stripes. It was an amusing freak for an old friend of the Duke of Clarence (then lately become William IV.), for an English rear-admiral and an M.P., but it had results. Not long after, Sir Isaac Coffin's name was down in the king's private list of new peers to be created in order to pass the Reform Bill of 1832. Ministers (the Duke of Wellington was Premier) heard from Quebec the story of the schooner

Thomas Coffin Amory.
1767-1812.
From a Painting by Gilbert Stuart.

and its flag; the freak and the peerage seemed to them incompatible, and an erasure was made in the king's list. "How much did it cost you to found your Nantucket School, Sir Isaac?" an innocent person asked; and the admiral answered fiercely: "It cost me an earldom, sir!"

The elder Jonathan Amory died in 1797, his brother John in 1803. After fully meeting their obligations[200] to English creditors, they had retired from business within a few years after John's return, and had made investments in land in the country as well as in Boston. One of them owned—and John's descendants long retained—Concert Hall,[201] a name always coming up in the local gossip, social and political, for a hundred years after 1754, when Gilbert and Lewis Deblois sold the property to Stephen Deblois. Jonathan moved in 1784 to a house which he built[202] on what is now the opening of Temple Place into Washington Street. His garden is said to have extended "two or three hundred feet in either direction," joining his brother's. John's was the next house (it had been Rufus Greene's) in Newbury Street, standing at the corner of West Street, up which its ground ran almost to Tremont. (See Note.)

John's second son, Rufus Greene Amory, successful as a Boston lawyer, married a daughter of Frederick William Geyer, the banished Loyalist. Geyer returning in 1789, and being admitted a citizen by Act of Legislature, recovered also his home in Summer Street, the large house opposite Trinity Church, built in 1730 by Leonard Vassall. The wedding of Rufus Amory and Nancy Geyer, February 13th, 1794, is described as "a very gay and brilliant affair." It gained an

unexpected distinction in consequence of a heavy snowstorm by which Prince Edward (afterwards Duke of Kent and father of the Queen), travelling from Canada to take command of the troops at Halifax, was just then detained at Boston. He accepted Mr. Geyer's invitation to the wedding, and came, with his aides. "His Royal Highness," it is recorded,[203] "was complaisant and affable in his deportment, and claimed the customary privilege of kissing the bride and bridesmaids." His host's son, it would seem, was (or had been the year before) among the ardent sympathizers with revolutionary France, who disapproved of titles, and put their marriage-notices in this form:[204] ("Boston Gazette," January 21st, 1793) "By Citizen Thatcher, Citizen Frederick W. Geyer, Jr., to Citess Rebecca, daughter to Citizen Nathan Frazer." As far as I can learn, the Amorys, in their first generation as American citizens, had no such fads, but were sober Federalists, not obliged, because they were grateful to Lafayette, to adopt the principles of '89, or to be persuaded a few years later that Napoleon was enslaving Europe only to strengthen American freedom. Of the Emperor's care for individual liberty Nathaniel Amory had personal experience, for arriving in Lombardy, after the order was issued for the arrest of all Englishmen in the French dominions, he was imprisoned,[205] in spite of his protest that he was an American, and presently sent under guard to Paris. Here, it is said, he had the melancholy honour of inhabiting that room in the Temple which had been the prison of Marie Antoinette. No inquiry was made into his case, nor was he allowed to communicate with anyone outside the limits of the prison. But it happened that a laundress employed for him was also

laundress to the American Minister. Whether it was the prisoner's clean linen which came to the Minister, or the Minister's to the prisoner (for traditions conflict), at any rate Washington Irving was made aware that a Mr. Amory was in Paris and that he was lodged in the Temple. Prompt inquiry and representation of the case to the French Government effected his release, but not without his promising Mr. Irving that he would never again be found within the borders of the Empire. Though more than once in England during the next ten years he was careful to keep away from the Continent until after Waterloo.

It was probably just before this adventure that he chose in Italy a gift for his brother Jonathan's wife, an alabaster ornament for the dinner-table. He writes[206] to Jonathan, May 7th, 1805, that he has been in quarantine at Palermo but is now at Leghorn, where "after looking over all the fine things in the famous shop of Micauli of which you have no doubt heard I gave the preference to a plateau which in point of size I think just calculated for your largest table. It is in three pieces and may be reduced to Two for a smaller one, the figures are as follows. The Centre Groupe Washington crowned by Victory & attended by the Genius of Commerce, on each side of this Groupe is a pyramid, at one end is a Cleopatra accompanied by Augustus & Marc Antony, at the other Lucretia accompanied by Collatinus & Brutus—in the front & rear of Washington two pieces of Artillery. The Arms, Trophies &c are to be placed around the other figures.—I hope Mrs Amory will be pleased with it as the design is novel & the workmanship exquisite." The value which he gives for the entry at the Custom House is 230 crowns.

Nathaniel and his brothers—Thomas Coffin Amory, Jonathan, and John—were all merchants, as were their cousins John and Thomas—sons of John—and also, I imagine, the younger sons Jonathan, William, and Francis. John's ten children all married, and all, except two daughters, have descendants. The whole number of their great-grandchildren living in 1896 was sixty-eight, of whom about forty are Bostonians, the rest living at Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, etc. One branch, not Amorys, are citizens of France. Of the great-grandsons of John's six sons, only two bear the Amory name. These are brothers living in the United States, but not in New England.

Thomas and Elizabeth (Coffin) Amory have now living one hundred and twenty-two great-great-grandchildren, of whom not more than twenty-five are permanently settled away from Boston. Four of the whole number are British subjects, the rest Americans. Eighteen of the great-great-grandsons have the surname Amory, and of these, thirteen are Bostonians the other five living at Chicago or elsewhere in the States. Five of the eighteen descend from the first Thomas Coffin Amory, thirteen from his brother Jonathan.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Heraldry.

IN 1788 one or two of the London periodicals printed letters about the author of "John Buncle," who had died, according to one correspondent, eighteen years before. His son, Dr. Amory of Wakefield, noticed these "erroneous accounts," and wrote to "The Gentleman's Magazine":

"My Father (John Buncle) Thomas Amory Esq^re^, is yet living and is now 97 years old, and when young was a very handsome man. . . . He never had but one wife and I am the only surviving child. . . . He has published many political and religious Tracts, Poems and songs. I cannot comprehend any sense in your calling him an Unitarian to a romantic degree. . . . He will not see any company nor ever comes out of his room. . . . He was not a native of Ireland. His Father, Counsellor Amory, . . . was appointed Secretary for the forfeited Estates in that Kingdom, and was possessed of very extensive property in the County of Clare. He was the youngest brother of Amory or Damer, the Miser, whom Pope calls the Wealthy and the Wise, from whom comes Lord Milton. . . . My Grandfather married the daughter of Fitz-

Maurice, Earl of Kerry . . . We are lineally descended from Amory de Montfort who married the sister of Henry the Second and was created Earl of Leicester."

Dr. Amory's statements—some of which were strictly accurate—met with fierce contradiction in the next number of "The Gentleman's Magazine," from a writer signing "Louis Renas." The inaccuracies seem hardly worth so much vehemence, but it must be granted to "Louis Renas" that Henry II. had no sister Countess of Leicester: it was his granddaughter Eleanor, sister of Henry III., who was married to de Montfort; de Montfort's Christian name was Simon; he was not exactly created Earl of Leicester, but by arrangement with his elder brother was allowed to claim that earldom, which their father had inherited through his mother but had never possessed. As regards the name Amory, Simon is rather remarkable for *not* having had it. It was his elder brother's Christian name; seven out of nine generations of their line had been so named. The second of the seven had inherited from his mother a castle in Normandy called by the inconveniently common title of Montfort; he made it Montfort l'Amauri for distinction, and his family became de Montfort de Montfort l'Amauri, as other families were de Montfort de Beldésert, and so on. The Earl of Leicester, founding a new house in England, seems to have dropped l'Amauri from his surname, although he gave the Christian name Amaury to one of his younger sons. This Amaury was a priest, who, after his father's downfall, went to Italy, there turned soldier, and died. Camden, writing of surnames ("Remaines concerning Britaine," 1657), says: "The most common alteration proceeded from the place of habitation. . . . So the yongest son

of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, staying in England when his father was slaine and brethren fled, took the name of Welsborne, as some of that name have reported." Mr. Prothero ("Life of Simon de Montfort," 1877, p. 364) ignores any such tradition, observing that Simon's family was extinct in the second generation—his daughter's only child was made a nun, the eldest of his five sons fell at Evesham, and at least three others died abroad. "What became of Richard we do not know: according to Ann. Dunst. he died in France." That the Amorys descended from any of the five is stigmatized by "Louis Renas" as "an idle tale, void of foundation or probability." Dr. Amory replies: "The account signed by me was taken from my grandfather's papers, Thomas Amory Esq of Bunratty Castle, confirmed by my father." When this second letter was written, the author of "John Buncle" had lately died, November 25th, 1788. ("Gentleman's Magazine," vol. 59.)

If either Thomas of Rathlahine or his father said that Bunratty was brother to Joseph Damer, it cannot much matter what they said of the Earl of Leicester. For they must have known that Bunratty—as we know from his own Chancery suits, from his father's will, from his sister Julia's letters—was Thomas Amory of Galy's eldest and only son. We know also that for three generations, practically the whole of the seventeenth century, Bunratty's family had been writing their name Amory, while Joseph Damer's family through the same period had been writing theirs Damer. In Hutchins ("History of Dorsetshire") the Damers are set forth, father and son, from 1602, on evidence apparently as clear as ours for the Amorys from 1605, and the two lines cannot be fused. (See also

"Somersetshire Wills," Second Series, under the names Trevillian and Bush.) We must, therefore, reject both propositions of the Wakefield letter, despite its author's unquestionable sincerity. There is no ground for the idea that Simon de Montfort was Hugh Amory's ancestor: such evidence as exists in the history of Simon and his sons is against it. There is no ground for the idea that Hugh's descendants and Lord Milton had a common ancestor before 1602; there is full proof that they had not after that date.

Mr. T. C. Amory, at a time when genealogical study was much more uncommon than it is now and much more difficult, especially at his distance from the records, was misled by Dr. Amory's letter, so far as to suppose that we must be in some way related to Joseph Damer, although obviously not through his being Bunratty's brother. Like other people, Mr. Amory took for history the elaborate pedigree of Lord Milton, from the date of the Conquest, published in eighteenth-century Peerages; and was always seeking facts to account for what it and the Wakefield letter said, rather than for facts to show whether what they said was not fiction. Believing in the Damer relationship, he supposed that whatever was true of Lord Milton's ancestry was true of ours, and believing Lord Milton's pedigree, he was convinced that we descend from the barons D'Amory of the fourteenth century. The question of whether they descended from Simon de Montfort was separate, and on this he had different theories at different times. But with regard to our descent from them he had so little doubt that he allowed the sentence to appear at the end of an account in Burke of Lord Milton and the barons: "One branch of this ancient house . . . has mi-

grated to the United States where the name and family of Amory are well known and esteemed." He also allowed in the same author's "General Armory" that this family should be credited with the coat of arms which Lord Milton took, viz.: "Barry nebulée of six *argent* and *gules*, a bend *azure*. Crest: out of a mural crown *or*, a talbot's head *azure*, eared of the first. Motto: Tu ne cede malis."—"I always stand up for Sir Bernard Burke," one of the Pursuivants said to me at the College of Arms in 1898; "he ought not to be blamed for inaccuracy: being in Ireland he had absolutely no means of verifying anything. We owe him a lot of information as to what each family in his time believed or wished to believe about itself—that is a great deal! But of course he is no authority beyond that."

The Damer relationship, if it had existed, would have been uncertain ground on which to claim a D'Amory ancestry or coat of arms. The pedigree and arms adopted by Joseph Damer's great-nephew about 1762, when, having been for some time Baron Milton of Shronehill, Tipperary, he obtained an English peerage as Baron Milton of Milton Abbas, Dorsetshire, may be seen in the "Historical Peerages" of Collins and Lodge, in Hutchins ("History of Dorset") and in other writers guided by these. Lord Milton was afterwards created Earl of Dorchester—peerage extinct 1808, line extinct 1829—but as the Wakefield letter speaks of him by the earlier title it is more convenient to do so here. (The Lord Dorchester mentioned in some of our Coffin family papers is, of course, Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada, created Baron Dorchester in 1786.) His D'Amory pedigree derives Lord Milton from a family settled in Devonshire before the end of the six-

teenth century: his D'Amory arms are those of a family settled equally early in Gloucestershire. Both these families —the Gloucester one in 1592, the Devonshire one in 1620— had had their right to bear arms recognized by the heralds. The arms were in both cases barry nebulée of six, *argent* and *gules*, over all, a bend—but in Devonshire it was a bend *sable*, in Gloucestershire a bend *azure*. A farther distinction was that the Devonshire group added no crest or motto. (The absence of these marks an ancient bearing, since mottoes came into fashion in the sixteenth century and crests began in the thirteenth.) Giles D'Amorie of the Gloucestershire group obtained in 1592 a grant from the Heralds' College of a crest; out of a mural coronet *or* a talbot's head *azure*, eared of the first; with the motto, *Tu ne cede malis*. Lord Milton assumed this crest and motto as well as the bend *azure*, not explaining how a descendant of the Devonshire family could inherit a right to them. The pedigrees recorded by the heralds in 1592 and 1620 prove that these two families, if they had a common ancestor at all, had been separate for at least three generations before Giles.

The particulars given in regard to Lord Milton's descent are that his great-grandfather, John Damer of Godmanston in Dorsetshire, born in 1602 (the father of Joseph Damer of Dublin) was great-grandson of the Reverend Anthony Damory, Rector of Asholt in Somersetshire, who was grandson of John Damerey of South Molton, the first recorded ancestor of the Devonshire family. Whom Anthony married is not said, but he is given a son "Joseph [Hutchins makes it John] Damory of Chapel, Co. Devon," who marries Jane St. Loe and has a son, "Robert Damory of Chapel," born in 1571, who marries

Mary Colmer, and is the father of John of Godmanston. In the Bishop's Nymet register, "Richard son of Anthony Amory" dies in 1571. Of course one cannot say that this was his only son. His nephew John Amory, furnishing the heralds in 1620 with the pedigree which they recorded, does not mention his marriage, but marks him simply as "Anthony, 3rd son, a priest," mentioning that the other uncle, William, married a daughter of Leigh of Ridge. The will of William's and Anthony's father, George Amorie or Amerie of Bishop's Nymet in the County of Devon, yeoman, is at Somerset House, written and proved in 1598. It makes bequests to "my son John Amerie," executor and residuary legatee, to two other sons, Anthonie and William, and to two married daughters, naming several children of John, of William, and of each daughter, but no child of Anthonie. It is to be remarked that in no record is he Anthony Damory. In a list of Somerset incumbents, compiled about 1730 from the Bishop's registers, "Anton Amerie" is instituted October 2nd, 1577, into the rectory of Aisholt or Asholt, resigned by the former incumbent, and keeps it until his death in 1620. The parish registers of Asholt before 1645 are lost, but a copy of one year (1606) remains among the reports to the Bishop which are kept at Wells. It is in particularly neat writing and is signed, in the same hand, "Anthonie Amorie psonn [parson]." Collinson ("History of Somersetshire," vol. i., p. 238) says that there is in the floor of the chancel in Asholt Church a stone inscribed: "Anthony Amory, decessid July 20, 1620, parson here 42 yeeres; who gave to the poor £30 for ever, whereof 15*l.* to Aysholt, & 15*l.* to Bishop's Nymet in Devonshire where he was borne." In 1895 no such stone was in the

church, but outside, leaning against the north wall of the tower, was a large fragment of a thick gray slab. It showed half, diagonally, of the above inscription, although the part bearing the parson's name was gone. At Somerset House the will of "John Amorie of Bishop's Nimett, *generosus*," proved in 1615, names "my brother Mr William Amory," and "my brother Mr Anthony Amorie, parson of Asholt." The pedigree of 1620 as printed by the Harleian Society (Vol. VI., Visitation of Devonshire) gives five generations of this family, varying the name as follows: "John Damerey of South Molton; George D'Amerey; John D'Amerie of Chappall in Bishop's Nimet; John Amerey of Chappell; John Amory son and heir, æt 5 in 1620." For younger sons in each generation the surname is not repeated. Such pedigrees are in the herald's handwriting, but generally signed by the head of the family. In this case the fourth generation signs, writing "John Amory," as the herald had written it for his child.

It is not explained how Anthony's son and grandson, if they existed, could be "of Chapel, Co. Devon." We have just seen that the pedigree first gives that title to Anthony's eldest brother, John, who married (according to Mr. Somerby's copy of the Bishop's Nimet register) in 1587 and died in 1615, his son succeeding him as "John Amerey of Chappell." This latter John had two sons, John (born in 1615) and William. John dying childless left Chapel to William, who had no sons and whose two daughters divided the property after his death in 1666. By that time Joseph Damer, having had too much of the Protector's favour to expect the King's, had sold all his English property and withdrawn to Dublin; his grandfather and great-grandfather had doubtless died. Westcote ("History

of Devonshire"), writing about 1630, mentions the manor of Chapel or White Chapel in Bishop's Nymet as "now divided among divers. In the farmhouse is the remainder of the tribe of Amory seated." To which his editor adds, "Extinct about the year 1670."

4. Again, Robert Damory, born in 1571, if he was a grandson of Anthony, was sixteen years of age before the marriage of his grandfather's elder brother, John. And at thirty years to a generation, the ordinary rule, his grandfather must have died at one hundred and nine, an age which the epitaph at Asholt might have been expected to remark. I must not conceal the fact that there is a difficulty the other way about Anthony's dates. If Mr. Somerby's report of the register be correct, George Amorye married Margery Ayer (the pedigree of 1620 calls her "daughter of Eyre of Atherington") in 1570. Their elder son John can hardly then have married in 1587, but, setting that aside, the younger one, Anthony, would be under five years old when instituted as rector of Asholt. This is odd, but does not make it more likely that he had a grandson born in 1571.

"In regard to Joseph Damer," writes Mr. Somerby, "I do not believe him to have descended from the D'Amory or Amory family at all. My impression is that desiring to link on to an ancient family they did so without any authority. The name in the parish registers and wills at least as far back as Queen Elizabeth is always spelt without the prefix D', showing that it was dropped before that time. The name D'Amory never was Damer and the name Amory, written so for several succesive generations, would not be likely to go back to D'Amory, much less to Damer." Horace Walpole, in a gossip-

ping letter to a friend, October 22nd, 1766, says: "You know my lord Milton, from nephew of the old usurer Damer of Dublin, has endeavoured to erect himself into the representative of the ancient barons Damory."

To play at being *armiger*, in flat defiance of the rules of the game, is of course an old offence. As early as 1419 unauthorized bearings had made such confusion throughout England that "it was deemed necessary to issue a royal mandate to the sheriff of every county to summon all persons bearing arms to prove their right to them. Many of the claims then made were referred to the heralds as commissioners" (Lower's "Curiosities of Heraldry," 1845, page 42). "Visitations," says another writer, "continued to be made during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I., and during part of the last reign the college of arms was in high repute and great respect paid to its mandates. . . . During the Protectorate . . . [it] seems to have been a nullity, yet even then the emblems of honourable antiquity were not disregarded. . . . At the Restoration the heralds were reinstated in all their powers and privileges. . . . Visitations were still made; the last of which took place in 1683, it being then found to be most useless to issue commands without authority to enforce them. . . . The dictation which had been submitted to in ruder and more warlike ages was now neither necessary nor possible. . . . . Arms . . . were soon . . . assumed ad libitum . . . as the penal statutes which had hitherto guarded the heralds' office continued inoperative . . . numbers were to be found who defying ridicule . . . arrogated to themselves arms of honour and antiquity and thus introduced a confusion which has never since been remedied."

It was part of the "Duty and office of an Herald" as set forth by F. Thynne in 1605, "to prohibit merchants . . . to put their names, marks or devices in escutcheons or shields, which belong to gentlemen bearing arms and none others." (Lower's "Curiosities of Heraldry," 1845, p. 42.) Thomas Amory, writing from the Azores or from Boston often reminds correspondents who are to receive packages from him that his mark is a monogram (which he draws) of his initials, T. A. One of his papers written at Angra is sealed with the same initials in a more complicated monogram. The will of his father, Jonathan Amory of South Carolina (destroyed with other public records by the burning of the city of Columbia, February 17th, 1865), is said in Dr. Joseph Johnson's "Traditions" (Charleston, 1851, page 272), to have "an eglet, the family seal, attached to it." In answer to a question on this point from Mr. T. C. Amory, Dr. Johnson writes, July 3rd, 1852, "I have been inquiring for the old Seal and Cypher. The first I found attached to the Will of Jon[a] Amory in 1699 in tolerable preservation. I inclose a copy of it, but really do not know what it [is] intended to represent. The Eglets ingraved on two old Spoons are distinctly remembered by my niece Mrs Sarah Trescot, and she remembers to have heard that they had belonged to my mother's branch of the family; but there is reason to believe that they were melted down . . . to make something more useful." Dr. Johnson's mother was the only grandchild of that Mrs. Amory who came to Charleston about 1750. For his belief in regard to her husband see above, page 98.

Seal on Jonathan Amory's Will. [Died] 1699.

Some of Hugh Amory's descendants have occasionally used arms, but without proving a right to them. The earliest instance seems to be in 1712, when Robert Amory's will having been proved at Antigua and a copy made and sent home by John Clerke (husband of Robert's niece Mary Hoskins), John Amory of Galway, Alderman, appeared before the Vicar-General at Limerick to declare his belief that the will was genuine and the copy a true one, and to give his consent that Bunratty should act as executor. This declaration and consent, written on a blank page of the will (Public Record Office, Dublin) have, each of them, the signature "John Amory," with a seal in red wax beside it. The Vicar-General also signs, but I am told that the seal is not his because it does not show the crossed keys of the diocese of Limerick. It is so small that I had great difficulty in making out what it does show, enough to draw it. The page was afterwards photographed with even less success, as the seal did not take at all. It has since been suggested to me that a rubbing, such as is taken of ancient brasses, would have done better, and if any of the family should be in Dublin again that might be worth trying. Meanwhile, my drawing shows a shield barry potentée of six, over all a bend. Crest: out of a mural coronet, a talbot's head, erased. Between shield and crest is the helmet, often put for ornament in a painting of arms, but forming no part of the device. Supposing my report to be correct and the potentée to be an engraver's error for nebulée, is this to be taken as evidence that John Amory possessed arms, the arms of Giles D'Amorie of Cotherington? Possibly, but there are reasons against it. In the first place, the Visitation of Somersetshire in 1623, when "the College of Heralds was

in great repute," does not notice any Amory: Hugh, then, claimed no arms. Next, the engraver's error, which we suppose in this seal, implies that the seal was cut from a written description of arms: otherwise a series of curves would not have become right angles (the difference between *nebulée* and *potentée*). The person, then, for whom it was cut could offer no older representation of the arms to serve as a model. One recollects that in the year 1683 when Bunratty arrived in London full of the idea of an estate in England as well as in Ireland, and doubtless of a career to match, the College of Arms, at no great distance from the Middle Temple, had just been rebuilt after its destruction in the Great Fire, and was now re-opened. In this year also, the heralds made that last Visitation, in which they found it "most useless to issue commands." Bunratty was ambitious, his mother's family had titles, the aspiring genealogical fables of the Wakefield letter are given on his authority. In 1711, his young cousin desiring "the Consulage of these Islands" asks him to "endeavour to get it from the Queen or Secretary," as if he had influence. In 1712 he was establishing himself in the Earl of Thomond's castle; his town house was in Dublin, where there had lately come a rage for fashion and display. Many persons regard arms as "the indispensable accompaniment of wealth," and if a man has them it completes the idea for his uncle to have them too. I imagine Bunratty accompanying John before the Vicar-General, and lending him a ring to seal with.

Mr. T. C. Amory knew nothing of these seals at Dublin, but as to his own immediate family's use of the arms which Lord Milton took, he wrote in 1856 ("New England Historic-Genealogical Register," vol. x., p. 59, note): "Dur-

ing the latter part of the last century as America was becoming democratic, coats of arms were regarded by many persons as somewhat opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and their use very generally relinquished. This prejudice was soon considered unfounded, and arms not only quite innocent, but of some value in distinguishing different branches of the same family, or different families of the same name. About fifty years ago, and again, later, in 1824, different members of the family . . . chancing to be in London, applied at the Herald's Office, to ascertain the particular arms they were entitled to bear according to the laws of Heraldry there recognized. Those most usually borne by families of the name in England were in both cases assigned to the applicants, and since have been used by some members of the family here. The shield in heraldic phrase has, in addition to the bend, a barry nebulee of six, *argent* and *gules*, . . . and the crest is a talbot's head *azure* out of a mural coronet *or*. These arms are those borne by the name in Somersetshire, in which county the immigrant ancestor to this country was born, and where his family had held land. . . . The applicant of 1810 or thereabouts adopted for his motto the Spanish words *Amor y Amistad*. . . . The English motto is *Tu ne cede malis*."

Mr. Amory, it will be noticed, implies that both applicants received the same arms. Yet, while his own bookplate, in use at least as early as 1869, has barry nebulée, *argent* and *gules*, over all a bend engrailed *azure;* crest, out of a mural coronet a talbot's head erased (colours not shown)—his brother's bookplate at the same date has barry nebulée *argent* and *gules*, over all upon a bend *sable* three bezants *or;* crest, out of a mural coronet (colour not shown) a talbot's head *azure*, eared

or. In a manuscript note on "Amory Arms," by a great-grandson of the first Thomas Coffin Amory, I find quoted from Robson's "British Herald," 1830, "'Amorie or D'Amorie, Gloucestershire: Barry nebulée of six *argent* and *gules*, over all upon a bend sable three bezants *or*. Crest: out of a mural coronet *or*, a talbot's head *azure*, eared *or*.' (No motto given.) These arms are the ones I have always known at Boston," adds the manuscript. Its author was born in 1849. He observes that *Tu ne cede malis* is "given by Burke and commonly spoken of as the correct motto by members of the family. Another 'canting' or 'punning' motto in Spanish is also mentioned, *Amor y Amistad* (Love and Friendship) but seems to have no authority." This last motto, introduced by "the applicant of 1810 or thereabouts" (who was, I have always been told, Nathaniel Amory), is the one on Mr. T. C. Amory's book-plate and seal: his brother had "In Deo Confido." Mottoes are generally considered changeable at pleasure; arms, of course, are not changeable without a new grant from the Heralds. The diversity in the coats, then, is definitive proof that no family tradition of possessing arms had been handed down to the nineteenth century. No two brothers, it is obvious, could *inherit* different arms. Younger sons may take some small additional charge called a "difference," to distinguish them from the head of the family and from each other, but this must be confirmed to them by the Heralds, and of such confirmation the College of Arms is supposed to preserve a record. In the General Search lately made for me at that office, no such confirmation, nor any kind of grant, to descendants of Hugh Amory came to light; nor were Amorie or D'Amorie arms discovered having a bend with bezants. I do not find

that Robson gives his authority for the statement that they existed.

At the head of the article in "The Genealogical Register," 1856, Mr. T. C. Amory put an engraving of a shield *azure*, on a bend *argent* three eagles displayed *sable*, which at that moment he believed to be his true family arms. This coat, he writes, "was taken from a silver tankard . . . the same, doubtless, mentioned in the will of Mrs Martha Amory . . . whe died in 1699. The tankard is now in the possession of Mrs Amory of Roxbury." He goes on to account for the family's having sought arms in London when they already had these, by supposing that "they were not aware . . . of the existence of the tankard which being somewhat out of fashion was possibly not often in sight." But it is not even proved that the tankard *is* the same which is mentioned in the will of Mrs. Martha Amory (see above, p. 37), nor, if it is, that it was Jonathan Amory's before he married her; nor, in that case, that the arms were his own. Mrs. Rhett's account of the division of the property in 1707 has a long list, headed, "Mr Thomas Amory Cr." Among the items are: "By some Peices of Cedar sold 10/; By the third Part of the Neat Ballance of Mr Jonathan Amory's Estate £323 : 7 : 3; By a Silver Tankard given him by Mrs Martha Amory in her Will £10 : 16 : 0." It may be left to those who understand book-keeping to decide whether Thomas, when he came to Carolina in 1719, received the tankard itself or only its cash value. In the former case, when he asked John Amory of Taunton whether "we are related, by the Information I give you," the information most to the point would have been, "Such and such are the arms on my father's tankard." Of

the Roxbury one, Miss Ernst, great-granddaughter of Mrs. Amory of Roxbury, writes in 1894: "The coat of arms is partially covered by a nose that someone put over it. We always supposed that it was about two hundred years old, but Koopman to whom we showed it says that it cannot possibly be more than one hundred and fifty years old, and that it has the mark of a New England firm on it." Later than Martha's time Charleston depended on Boston for silversmith's work, for in 1716 the younger Francis Holmes having married and settled in Charleston, sends to his sister Rebecca at Boston "40 oz. plate . . . to be made in 1 Qt Tanckard, 2 porringers, 12 spoones, all w^{ch} desire you will see them gott for me . . . w^{ch} Service done to me Shall Ever Take Kinde at yo^{r} hands." Mr. T. C. Amory's later view was that the arms belonged to Martha's family, but he failed to learn her name from them.

Here shall follow a bewildering anecdote of no possible value. When in 1898 a Pursuivant at Arms allowed me to see the Heralds' books, I thought it worth while to show him the engraving of these arms in the "Register." He said he knew nothing of such a coat, and we went on searching for other things. Half an hour had passed before he opened an old volume of pedigrees (to which the index, whereby we were working, referred us for Amore), and found a Channell pedigree, undated, but written he thought early in the seventeenth century. Robert Channell, son and heir, had married Isabell, daughter of Thomas Amore, who bore *azure*, on a bend *or*, three eagles *sable*. Without being aware that I had noticed it, the Pursuivant said at once: "There you have what you have in your book," glancing towards the "Register" which had been put aside. The descent from Robert and Isabell was traced

through their daughter Cicely Channell and her daughter Agnes Cockfylde to Agnes's son John Tailboyes, whose daughter Margaret was the first wife (no children indicated) of John Ayscough from whose name, with that of his second wife (heiress of Sir Richard Tunstall), a *pied de grue* shows descendants not specified. Sir George Ayscue (the same sound with Ayscough) had conquered Barbadoes for Cromwell about thirty years before Jonathan Amory's first wife died there. The same coat is given in Edmondson ("Compleat Heraldry," page 3) as belonging to Ammory. A pedigree of Herreys at the College of Arms mentions a daughter of Foulke d'Amorye, whose arms are *azure*, a bend *argent*, three eagles displayed *sable*, and who must have lived about 1470. I may now leave the subject of the tankard.

In 1866 ("Heraldic Journal," vol. ii., p. 101) Mr. T. C. Amory proposed still another coat. He had by then received through Mr. H. G. Somerby, Sir Bernard's Burke's copy of a pedigree in the College of Arms at Dublin,[112] tracing the line of Mrs. McMahon's descendants from Thomas Amory of Galy, and giving a sketch without colours of a shield barry nebulée of six, on a chief a lion passant; crest, an eagle's head erased. Mr. Somerby sent also from a manuscript volume of "Heraldic Collections relating to the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland" (British Museum Addit., MSS. 4815, fol. 163), the following note: "Com. Kerry: Armory or Amory. Nebule of 6 *A.* & *G.*, on a chief of y^e^ 1^st^ a lion pass^t^ of y^e^ 2^nd^ Armed *B.*" Below this blazon the head of a pheasant or eagle marked *or* is drawn, probably for the crest. I have no explanation to offer, unless such arms belonged to some company of merchants of which Thomas of Galy was a member.

Here a few notes may be made on Amory arms in general. The College of Arms has four or five instances of an Amory or D'Amory coat barry nebuly (or else barry wavy or even barry dancetty) with no bend. One of these belongs to Christopher Dawmory, whose daughter Elizabeth married John Fisherton (no date); two others to Sir Richard D'Amory (no date); and the fourth to Amory of Asherney, or Ashregney, in Devonshire in 1624. This last family appears in a Visitation of London in 1662, when the head of the house has become a London vintner. Their shield is also found in one of the Harleian MSS. (No. 1538, Vol. IV., quoted by Mr. Somerby) under the note: "In St Peter's Church in (qu. Exeter?) all these five coates following by the name of Amory." The first of the five drawings is marked Amory of Asherney; all are barry nebuly *argent* and *gules;* only one has a bend. This bend is marked *azure.* Woodward ("Heraldry, British and Foreign," 1896) describes a seal used by Elizabeth, one of the sisters and co-heiresses of Gilbert de Clare, last Earl of Gloucester. "The central shield," he says, "bears the arms of Roger d'Amori, the lady's third husband, who died circa 1322—barry wavy *argent* and *gules*, a bendlet *azure.*" In Edmondson's "Compleat Heraldry," p. 86: "D'Amory: Barry nebulée of six, *argent* and *gules*, a bend *azure.*" In the "Gatherings of Oxfordsher, Anno 1574, by Richard Lee of the College of Arms," are several notes of arms, to which the Harleian Society, printing the manuscript in 1871, added the names in brackets:

Page 37. "In Great Mylton Churche—Barry nebulée *argent* and *gules* [D'Amory]. Barry nebulée of six *argent* and *gules*, a bend *azure* [D'Amory]."

Page 71. "In Christes Church in Oxon. A fayr tombe with all these armes about yt. . . . Barry nebulée of six *or* and *gules* [D'Amory]."

Page 175. "Wayneman of Fringford impales Barry nebulée of six *argent* and *sable*, a bend *or* [D'Amory]."

Page 209. "Power of Blechingdon.—Arms Quarterly 1 & 4 Barry nebulee of six *argent* and *sable* a bend *or* [D'Amory]. 2 *Argent* a chief indented *sable* [Power]. 3 Two bars within a bordure engrailed (untinctured) [Cottesford]."

Page 210. "Sir Walter Power, Knight, of Odington, Oxon, eldest son and heir to Sir William, married Katherine, daughter to Robert [D'Aumory of] Blechesdon, Oxfordshire, aunt and heir to the daughters of Richard Dalmorey [D'Aumory] her brother."

By the number of later generations mentioned at the Visitation it is clear that this Katherine D'Aumory lived about the year 1300.

We have manuscript references to Rietstap's "Armorial Général," 1884, for "Lord D'Amorie — Gloucestershire; family extinct in the 14th Century—barry nebulée *argent* and *gules*, a bend *azure*," crest not mentioned; to the Antiquarian Repertory, London, 1775, for "Arms of Sir Richard Amory of Oxfordshire *unde argent et goulis*," and "Arms of Sir Roger Amorie of Oxfordshire *Mesure les armys et une bend sable;*" to Aveling's "Heraldry" for: "The shield of Roger d'Amori, barry nebulée of six *argent* and *gules*, a bend *sable*, is mentioned in a roll of Edward the Second." (See also Boutell's "Heraldry," p. 406.)

In Fairbairn's "Crests" is "Amory: out of a ducal coronet *or*, a plume of seven ostrich feathers *argent*, four and three."

The Rev. Thomas Amory of St. Teath's writes about 1875, "Some person of Bicester sent my brother a crest taken from the monuments of Bicester Abbey, containing a Plume of Feathers."

The only arms, not already mentioned, which were found in the general search at the College of Arms, 1898, for Amory, Amery, Aimery, D'Amory, Daumari, De Amari, Demeri, Emery, belong to the seventeenth century, and are:

Emery or Fennell: *gules*, on a bend *ermine* between two martletts *or*, a martlett of the last.

Emery: barry of six, *gu. or.* in chief three cinquefoils *or.*

Emory arms impaled by Farwell: *Or*, in chief three cinquefoils *or*. This is an Emory of Somersetshire who died in 1657. Not a record, but found in one of the Painters' Books.

Amery or Emery of Essex, 1628, argent, three bars nebuly *gules*, in chief as many torteaux.

Amery or Emery of Essex, 1634, barry nebuly of six, *argent* and *gules*, in chief three annulets *gules*. This may be seen also in the Visitation of Essex, 1634, where the name is Emory als Amory. (Harl. Soc. Publications, vol. xiii., p. 393.)

CHAPTER XVII.

Of Other Amory Families.

ONE of the staff of the Bodleian Library, Mr. W. H. Turner, was engaged by Mr. T. C. Amory in 1871 to look up the history of the Oxfordshire D'Amorys. Mr. Turner, beside his special knowledge of early charters and rolls preserved at the Bodleian—of which he edited a Calendar—had leave to study collections of the same kind at some of the Colleges—Christ Church, Oriel, and Magdalen. He continued the search in London. "I feel sure," he writes in 1872,[207] "that there must be a lot in the Record Office. The list you have sent me [of searches already made] is blank as far as that repository is concerned; the few things from the Close and Patent Rolls can always be found because that is a class of Records that is well indexed, but it is the searching among the various subsidies that are stored there by thousands and the going through the pleas. . . . Your list does not include any extracts from the Fines and Recoveries, a class of Records that throw more light upon genealogical history than any other. . . . The Fines begin *temp.* Henry II. [1154-1189] and the Recoveries 12 Edward IV.

[1472]. They have been preserved in almost uninterrupted succession from Richard I. [1189-1199] to George II. [1727]. Now I should propose that these Records for Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Buckinghamshire and Somersetshire be thoroughly searched. . . . I should like to obtain as much information as I can from the Placita. We must find out from these sources the disposition of the lands of the Amories and also their marriages. If by this means we can reach the reign of Elizabeth I think we shall get on all right. . . . You seem to have all the wills and recent documents but I shall visit the Probate Court with your list and see if I can find anything more. . . . Bodley has supplied you with all that she has. The Record Office is the only place in which we may hope to trace the connection between Devonshire and Oxfordshire. . . . I have no doubt that there is much [there] . . . but the searching is such a lottery that unless one has a clue to a reference it often turns out blank." After a month's work in London he writes again: "The Devon fines to Henry VI. [1422] turned out blank, but the later ones may have something. . . . I brought the Oxford fines down to Edward II. [1307]." . . . His later reports include fines and other records until the death in 1375 of Sir Richard D'Amory. "Between 1375 and 1405, just thirty years, I could not find any records to help me and from this point the documents [which I have] copied are not connected with each other." By 1875 his Record Office plan had probably been carried out, for he writes: "I have not quite made up my mind about the proper way to work for you. . . . I am afraid I shall not be able to find the connecting link between the Devon and Oxon Amorys, but I could work up the Cheshire families." Here

Mr. Turner's letters and reports come to an end. The facts gathered by means of them may be told as follows:—

"The ancient barons Damory" were, strictly speaking, two brothers, Richard and Roger, who in the reign of Edward II. (1307-1327) rose by royal favour to that rank, holding land by military service directly from the King, and having summons to Parliament by special writ. Roger had married the king's niece, Elizabeth de Clare. The existence of either barony was brief. Roger was attainted and forfeited, having taken part in the attack on the Despencers and finally joined the Earl of Lancaster's rebellion. He had no son. Richard's son, that Sir Richard who died by 1375, is said to have impoverished himself for the sake of equipment for the wars in France: he resigned most of his lands to the king (Edward III.), retaining only a life-interest in them, and otherwise alienated the rest of his estate. He is not said to have had a son, and he certainly left no inheritance for one: Sir Nicholas Dammory, four times a knight of the shire for Oxfordshire, and more than once honourably employed by the king, is more probably his brother than his son.

The barons' ancestors can be traced to the twelfth century. For the eleventh there are dim conflicting probabilities, and a mist of speculation as to the origin of these or of any other Amorys. Fortunately the question has in one way a limit: Amory is not in any language a common noun. It began its course among the Germanic nations and began it as a Christian —at any rate as a personal—name, derived from terms signifying "work ruler" or "the toiling hero." It was Amalrich, Almerich or Emmerich in Germany, Almerigo in Spain, Americo in Portugal, Almaric, Amauri, Hamon in France,

Æthelmær, Almaric, Ailmer in pre-Norman England ; becoming Amauricius, Americus, Ailmerus or even Haimerius when written in Latin. An unfettered system of spelling added forms too many to count. Henry III.'s half-brother wrote himself Ethelmarus, while his nephew kept the House of Lusignan's form, Aymar. Miss Yonge ("History of Christian Names") giving some of these particulars observes that "Emmery is a surviving English surname;" she ignores Amory and D'Amory. If there were any lack of evidence that Emory and Emery are mere variations in the writing of Amory, our own papers and traditions would supply it. To write *A*-mory, and say *Em*-ory has been the immemorial custom of the family at Boston ; a custom wholly justified by analogy, for who, writing *Thames*, would say anything but *Tems?* That they brought this pronunciation from England is shown by Mrs. O'Connor's remark at Bristol (page 107), "Your relations the Emorys, for so they write their name." It is the writing which surprises her: she finds nothing new in the sound. Ann Ramsay once writes, "Mr Emory" for Thomas Amory of Rathlahine.

The use of hereditary surnames, beginning a little earlier in Normandy, dates in England from the Conquest, though not among any but noble or important families: it continued for some centuries to signify high birth. A paper (not a record) at the College of Arms, apparently a first sketch of the pedigree already discussed, derives Joseph Damer, Esq. through the barons D'Amory, from "the Sire Dambemare who came in with William the Conqueror, to whom that Prince gave several Lordships, some whereof still remain in their possession." The Pursuivant, on my seeing this paper, hastened to

warn me off from it: "That whole story," he said, "must be taken with a great many grains of salt! It goes back to the Age of Fable." Some modern writers, however, seem to take it on trust from Collins and Lodge, though with variations. Burke's "Landed Gentry," in the edition of 1855, gave to the Gloucestershire Amories an ancestor who "came to England with the Conqueror from Tours." The same author's "Battle Abbey Roll" (published in 1848), and the Duchess of Cleveland's "Roll of Battle Abbey" (1889), say that the barons D'Amory were descendants of a Norman warrior, "Damry," the later work adding that Damry is "for D'Amorie, from Damars or Amorie near Caen." A local surname taken from a place in Normandy, if it ever became hereditary, must obviously have done so in the first English generation. This test cannot be applied satisfactorily in the present case as the earliest documentary evidence belongs to the sixty-third year after the Conquest. In that year, 1129, a charter is witnessed by "Rogero de Amari," but the next occurrence of the name is in the Thame Chartulary about 1135, when "Robertus filius Almerici" makes a gift of land at Chesterton, a charter of 1138 being witnessed by "Henrico filio Roberti filio Aumari." It is not certain that any—yet it is likely that all—of these persons belonged to the barons' family. If they did the "de Amari" has less weight in favour of "Damars or Amorie near Caen" than "filius Almerici" has against it. Even after the name had become fixed as a surname, it had not invariably the *de* or D': in 1219 (translated by Mr. Turner) "Robert the son of Ralph Aumaric"; in 1285 "Ricardus filius Roberti Amary." (This Richard was the barons' father.) Nor need "Filius Almerici" mean that Almericus was the

father's Christian name. "Radulphus filius Almarici" is written early in the thirteenth century for a son of that Robert who was "filius Almerici" seventy years before. As if Amory were a title—given in these two instances not to the living, but to the late, head of the house. By 1135, in the second generation after the Conquest, Norman Christian names like Robert, Ralph, and Richard are to be expected even in a family of Old English origin. The patronymic surname might result from an earlier custom—such as the de Montforts had—of naming a son in each generation Amory, whether as Amauri or Æthelmaer. To prove that it did so would neither decide the question of race, nor bring all persons surnamed Amory into one family, since in either country, and at different times, in families unrelated, the Christian name might have a like development.

For a Norman origin, the "Damry" of Battle Abbey Roll is not conclusive. The Roll, supposed to be the Conqueror's approved list of his warriors, disappeared more than a century ago, and its testimony had been discredited for at least a century before that, by a suspicion that the monks, who had charge of it until the Reformation, sometimes inserted names to gratify persons in power. The likeness of "Damry" to D'Amory rather supports the idea that they did so in this case, for in charters the barons' ancestors are not written D'Amory until the last quarter of the thirteenth century. There is one instance in 1216, and one in 1218, of Damari; but in all the early variety of forms D'Amory does not happen to appear. It is significant that Dunkin, familiar with the charters in Kennett's "Parochial Antiquities"—perhaps also in the original documents—corrects the form of the statement

while taking the substance no doubt from Lodge: "The name of De Amory," he says, "appears in Battle Abbey Roll." No one else reports it in that shape, but in the charters "De Amory" is found as early as 1189, and is almost the rule from 1243 to 1275. The Norman theory may be true, but one might almost as reasonably urge that as there was an Old English Ailmer or Æthelmaer the Great (to be read of in the history of Æthelred the Unready, of Swegen and of Canute), who founded Eynsham Abbey in Oxfordshire in the year 1005, and owned land at Chesterton in that county, the barons must have descended from him. It is as a landholder at this same Chesterton that "Robertus filius Almerici" first appears. But one hundred years and the chasm of the Conquest lie between.

Of Oxfordshire Amorys before 1375 there are, beside unplaced individuals, six groups, how far connected one cannot exactly say. We may call them for convenience the groups of: I. the Gilberts, who are not clearly related even among themselves; II. Britwell; III. Cowley; IV. Chesterton; V. Blechingdon; VI. Bucknell.

I. *The Gilberts.* At the Domesday Survey in 1086 four manors in the neighbourhood of Chesterton—viz. Blechingdon, Bucknell, Fulewell, and Weston—were held of the great baron Robert D'Oily by Gislebt, *i.e.*, Gilbert. "Gislebt," says a writer of the "Annals of Blechingdon" (William Wing, 1872), "may be inferred, I think, to have been an Anglo-Saxon who had the good fortune to be able to re-purchase the land that had been confiscated from his possession by the invaders of twenty years before." Mr. Turner fancied him a Norman whom D'Oily rewarded with land for his service at Hastings.

However that may be, in 1110 a house without the city of Oxford was bequeathed to Eynsham Abbey by Gilbert d'Ameri. In 1149 Gilbert de Amari witnessed a charter by which the d'Ivrys, with whom Robert D'Oily had shared his vast Oxfordshire estate, confirmed his previous gift of the tithes to Oseney Abbey. In 1169 Gilbert de Aumary had seizin of his lands at Winford in Somersetshire, which manor was held by Amorys until Sir Richard de Amory gave it away after 1270. In 1197 the Sheriff of Oxfordshire returned a Gilbert de Almari as owing half a knight's fee that he might be exempt from going on active service to Normandy. The next year land at Marston, Bucks, which Gilbertus de Aumari had held, was confirmed to his widow Alice Daumari and Galfrid (*i.e.*, Geoffrey) her son.

II. *Britwell.* Another Domesday tenant, Almaricus, held of Milo Crispin a manor called Britwell, at the south-east corner of Oxfordshire. In a charter written between 1220 and 1230, John the son of Almaricus of East Britwell concedes an acre of land to a priory at Wallingford. In 1279 the Hundred Rolls show John Amare holding at Britwell one acre of Sir Thomas de Parco, and half a virgate with eight acres of the Prioress of Littlemore. There is no later record of this line, unless the Amorys of Malden, Essex, continue it. One of these, Sir John Amory, who died in 1341, bore *gules* a cross engrailed *or*, fusilly *argent*, charged with five roses *gules*. He married the heiress of Frolesworth, in Leicestershire, and moved to that county, where his line came to an end before the fifteenth century. The Essex family continued into the seventeenth.

III. *Cowley.* In 1188 a charter giving land to the Knights

Templars, whose head preceptory was at Sandford, a mile beyond Cowley, near Oxford, is witnessed by several persons, among them "Amarico de Couele, Andrea filio ejus et capellano qui scripsit hanc cartam." This is the first record of a family, eighteen of whose own charters are in existence, giving Cowley land to the Knights Templars, to Oseney Abbey, and to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist without the East Gate of the City of Oxford, which Hospital was on the present site of Magdalen College. The charters show five generations between 1200 and 1317, viz.: Amauricius of Cowley, his wife Funeholt and his sons Ralph and Andrew; Andrew's son, Geoffrey, who married Juliana and had a son, Andrew Amari of Cowley, who married Alice and had a son and heir, William Amori of Temple Cowley. They were tenants of the Knights Templars (to whom Cowley had been given by Queen Matilda, the wife of King Stephen), and William Amori still held the manor in 1317, ten years after the Templars' Order had been suppressed. Sir Richard de Amory of Bucknell had charge of the Templars' lands for the King in 1312, and Temple Cowley is among the manors for which he renders an account. Some of these Cowley charters have the donors' seals, for the most part unbroken, appended to them. The inscription on that of Andrew (brother of Ralph and father of Geoffrey) is "Andree filii Amauri"; his grandson has "Andree fil' Galf' Amori"; and this last Andrew's widow, "Alicie relicte Aimori de Couele." Their son has "Wil'li Ammori."

The four manors of Gislebt are not mentioned for fifty-two years after Domesday. Then, in 1138, Roger de Amory gives to Edith D'Oily's new foundation, the abbey for nuns at Godstow, twenty-five acres of land in Blechingdon to sow yearly,

and as many acres to enclose. From this time Blechingdon does not leave the family until after 1375. Bucknell is found in 1201 belonging to Robert de Aumari and continues with him and his heirs until 1375. Fulewelle is mentioned only once: at some time between 1234 and 1254 Adeline de Fulewelle gives the whole of the vill to Oseney Abbey for a yearly rent of forty shillings, the Abbot also for this concession paying down twenty marks to Robert D'Amory and two marks to Robert his son. (I quote this form, "D'Amory," from an historian, Kennett, not from a record.) With Weston the family has at least an association so early as 1138, for it is Edith D'Oily's charter giving to Thame Abbey thirty-five acres in that manor, which is witnessed by "Henrico filio Roberti filio Aumari." In 1226 Edith's grandson gave the whole manor to Oseney Abbey. Both gifts were transferences of the chief lordship, over either a part or the whole: such transferences need not disturb the tenant who held of the D'Oilys. If, however, that tenant was the Amory of the time, there was a disturbance of him or his heir about thirty years later; for by 1256 Roger de Amory, head of the Bucknell family, brings a suit in the Court of King's Bench against Oseney for the manor of Weston. After the suit had begun, the Abbot of Thame paid Roger four marks sterling to release to Thame Abbey all his right and title to its lands in his fee of Weston and in the field called Westhull. Richard, King of the Romans, was at length made arbiter of the dispute, and in 1261, gave judgment that Oseney should buy out Roger's right at the price of three hundred marks, which was accordingly done. Roger resigned the whole manor, the advowson of the Church, and all other appurtenances.

IV. *Chesterton.* The records of this group are dated from 1135 to 1237, covering five generations: 1. Robert filius Almerici; 2. William, Robert, Ralph, and Henry; 3. Robert; 4. Ralph; 5. Robert and possibly Hugh.

1. Robertus filius Almerici gave to Thame Abbey "de dominio meo quod Curtlicgrave proximum est de terra de Cetreton pro anima patris et matris mee et pro anima Henr' Regis [who died in 1135] nec non pro animabus parentum meorum et parentum uxoris mee quod ob rata perpetuo jugalis mee et filiorum meorum Willielmi et Roberti concessione et sigilla mei impressione . . ." This is followed in the Thame Chartulary by another charter written between 1151 and 1173: "Ego Robtus filius Almalrici dedi et concessi abb. de Thame totum dominium meum quod vocatur Wlwardesulle . . . lx acras de Inland et similit totum dominium de Oxeheire id est x acras de Inland et preter xx acras warland inter Wlwardeshull et decemannestrate." He mentions Yvice his wife, Robert his heir, his own brother Ralph, and the heir's brothers, Ralph and Henry. The son William mentioned in the first charter does not appear again, unless when Dunkin says that in Henry III.'s reign William, son of Amory, held one knight's fee in Wendlebury, a village adjoining Chesterton. Half a hide in Wendlebury and Chesterton was given to Thame Abbey before 1200 by Robert, the son of Robert, the son of Amalric, and confirmed by his brother Ralph and by "Amalric son of Ralph," a first cousin of the four brothers, William, Robert, Ralph, and Henry. About 1169 a man named Amfridus gives to Oseney Abbey "one hide of land in Chesterton which Robert the son of Amauricius and Robert his son for my service gave me . . . and that this my donation may be

more firm and stable in time to come it is conceded and confirmed by my lord Robert the son of Robert the son of Amauricius." There follow in the Oseney Chartulary undated confirmatory charters from "Robert the son of Robert the son of Amauricius" (see Kennett at the year 1237) from "Ralph the son of Robert the son of Amary," and from "Ralph the son of Amary," who mentions a charter of "Robert the son of Ralph my father," and names "Amabilia my wife." In 1189 Ralph the son of Amalricus has "loquela" in the King's Court in regard to Amalric the son of Ralph and half a hide of land in Cressewell. Amalricus is dead and Thomas Basset has the land of the King.

2. The repetition of names is confusing, but it would seem that Amfridus's "lord Robert," heir to Robert "filius Almerici," left no son and was succeeded by his brother Ralph. In 1181 Radulfo Daumari is a witness to Henry D'Oily's confirmation of his father's and mother's gift at Weston to the Abbey of Thame, another witness being "Ricardo Daumari," chaunter, archdeacon, and elsewhere called dean, of Lincoln. Ralph must have died about 1187, when, according to Kennett,

3. Robert, the son of Ralph, the son of Robert de Amory, confirmed and added to the gift of Amfridus. Robert is perhaps that Amalricus whose minor son,

4. Ralph, is mentioned in a Pipe Roll of 1195: "William of the Church of St Mary's renders an account of 50 marks for having the custody of the heirship of Ralph the son of Amalricus with the whole of his land that he may be able to marry the said Ralph to one of his kindred." I suppose that Amabilia was the wife so chosen and that Ralph died within a few years:

5. In the Oblate Rolls at the year 1201 the Bishop of London undertakes to answer for the heir of Ralph the son of Amauri for three knights' fees of the Honour of Wallingford. Chesterton was in this Honour, but it is not clear whether the three fees included nothing but Chesterton; it was called two knights' fees at some time between 1216 and 1272. As a fee was an expression of value, not a measure of extent, the number of fees was sometimes changed without any change in the property. In a Fines Roll of 1205 the Lord W. Bishop of London owes scutage of the land of Robert, the son of Ralph, the son of Amauri of Chesterton. In 1208 two Roberts are surety for Walter de Time; and in this or the next year a charter of Richard de Camvill giving tithes to Bicester Priory is witnessed by Roberto Aumari, Roberto et Radulfo filiis ejus, and Roberto filio Aumari. This last is probably the Chesterton Robert. He appears again in the same company in 1214 as Roberto filio Amarici; and in 1219, at an "assisa mortis antecessorum," Robert, son of Ralph Aumaric, has a quit claim deed of a virgate of land at Chesterton from Hugh, son of Ralph.

V. *Blechingdon.* The dates begin in 1138 with 1. Roger: he may, or may not, be the father of 2. Robert, who is father of 3. Roger, who has three sons, 4. Robert, Raph, and Richard. It is not shown how any of this group may be related to "Robert Aumary of Blechesdon," whose children, Richard and Katherine, are living about 1300.

1. For Roger, who gave to Godstow the fifty acres, half to sow and half to enclose, there is no charter as evidence, only Kennett's general reference to the Monasticon.

2. From a Chartulary of Godstow in the Bodleian Library Mr. Turner copied: (A.) "A Charter of Robert of Aumery to Abbey of Godstow for 32 acres in Blechesdon [*i.e.*, Bletchingdon]. The sentence of thys evidence is that Robert of Aumery gaf & grauntyd to god & to the churche of our lady seynt Mary & of seynt John baptist of Godstowe & to the holy mynchons there serving God xxxii acris of lond & one yerd londe w^t^ hys hedys of hys londe in the town of blechesdon into pur & perpetuall almys for the helthe of his soule & hys auncetors to be hadde . . . frely, restfully pesybly & worshypfully." The position of the different pieces of land is then described; they are scattered about all over the property and seem to amount to a good deal more than thirty-two acres. "Furthermore he grauntyd to the seyde holy mynchons of Godstowe pasture to iiii kyne in his owne pasture in the same towne of blechesdon w^t^ hys kyne where so evyr they goo oute take iij crofts by thowt hys court of the west part w^t^ wellmede & furthermore for hym & hys heyrys to the seyd holy mynchons of Godstow fre goynge thorowe hys wood & thorowe hys lond in hys maner of Pyrye for her [= their] carts & carrys to go and come w^th^out any vexacōn or lette for evyr . . . & the seyd Robert confirmed for hym & hys heyrys all the gevynge of hys aunceturs a geynst all men and all wemen for evyr & for that his yeft . . . sholde be ferme . . . he put to his seele to the writynge thereof & is w^t^ out date."

3. (B.) "A charter of londys igef by Rog^r^ of Aumary fitz Robert Aumery to Godstowe," the gift being twenty-one selions (*i.e.* ridges) of his arable land in tilth.

4. (C.) A confirmation by Raph of Aumery "of the yeft that Rog^r^ hys fadur made . . . that is to say XXV acris of

hys lordship yerly to be sowyd in the ground of blechesdon & by syde these XXV acris he yaf tweyne acris to make a dwellynge place into perpetual almis to the churche . . . of Godstowe & to the mynchons there servynge God w^t^ hys too dowhters y^e^ whych were made mynchons in the same churche." He did all this with the assent of "Hadewyse his wyfe & hys sonys that is to say Robert Raph and Richard w^t^ Syr Henry Doyly graunting and confirmynge the same." The first Sir Henry D'Oily succeeded to the barony in 1156 or shortly before. He was followed by his son, the only other Sir Henry of that name; who died in 1232. It will be noticed in the first charter that Robert of Aumery held the manor of Pyrye, *i.e.*, Woodperry: it was in the Honour of S. Walery. Among the tenants of that Honour in 1212 are Robertus de Aumari and Ricardus D'Aumari, but their manors are not named. In 1224 Alexander and Emma de Burton acknowledge Robert Aumary's right to one knight's fee in Woodperry.

There are several early charters witnessed by "Roger." 1129, the D'Oilys found Oseney Abbey; first witness: "Rogero de Amari"; 1135, Robert de Gait founds Ottlei (afterwards Thame) Abbey, with land at Oddington, "Rogero de Aumari"; 1201, a Basset gift to Bicester Priory, "Rogero de Aumary;" 1212, charter to Bicester from the Prioress of Merkyate, Bedfordshire, "domino Rogero de Aumari"; 1297, to Oseney from Hugh de Plessis, second and ninth witnesses, "Rogero de Amory"; 1298, to Oseney again from de Plessis, "Rogero de Amory."

There are also several unidentified Roberts witnesses:— 1181, founding of Bicester Priory by Gilbert Basset, "Rob.

de Amalri"; 1188, composition between Bicester and Eynsham about the tithes of Stratton, "Rob. de Aumari"; 1189, gift of land on Otmoore to the Knights Templars from William del Osse of Charlton, "Roberto de Amory"; 1193, a Basset gift of land in Buckinghamshire to Bicester, "Rob. de Amari"; at some time between 1190 and 1260, a gift of land at Ottendun (now Oddington), to Thame from Genteschive Poure, "Robert de Almari." Another such charter mentions in Oddington "the wood of Ralph the son of Almaric of Chesterton." Oddington adjoins Weston, as Weston on the other hand adjoins Blechingdon. From the north side of Weston, Wendlebury and Chesterton lead past Bicester to Bucknell. The villages of Bucknell and Blechingdon are not more than six miles apart.

In 1194 Richard de Amory holds of the Knights Templars the manor of Merton to which one of the appendants is land in Blechingdon.

VI. *Bucknell.* The dates are from 1208 to 1375; the generations, rather uncertainly, six. 1, Robert; 2, Robert and Roger (but they may possibly be not brothers but father and son); 3, Roger, a priest, and Robert; 4, Richard; 5, Nicholas, Richard and Roger (the barons); 6, Richard and possibly Nicholas.

1. Eleven charters to Bicester Priory from 1208 to 1219 are witnessed (in some cases, first) by: 1208 or 1209, "Roberto Aumari, Roberto et Radulfo filiis ejus, Roberto filio Aumari"; 1210, "Roberto de Aumari, Roberto filio ejus, Ralph de Aumari clerico"; 1212, "Roberto D'aumari, Roberto D'aumari filio ejus, Radulfo clerico"; 1214, "Roberto de Aumari,

Roberto filio ejus, Radulfo filio ejusdem clerico, Roberto filio Amarici"; 1214 again, "Roberto de Aumari, Roberto et Radulpho filiis ejus"; 1216, "Roberto Damari, Roberto Damari filio ejus"; 1217, and soon after again, "domino Roberto Daumari"; 1218, "Roberto Damari et Roberto Damari filio ejus"; 1219 in the two charters, "domino Roberto de Aumari." Dunkin says that in the reign of King John (1199-1216) Robert de Amory, that his son might be exempt from military service in France, paid scutage for three Knights' fees, two of which were in Bucknell and Blechingdon. For this there is a reference to Testa de Nevil, p. 101 b. Kennett says that in 1201 Amory, son of Robert, lord of the manor of Bucknell, paid for four Knights' fees. In 1208 Robert de Aumari, lord of Bucknell, is a Justice Itinerant for the county of Lincoln; in 1211, 1213, and 1224 for the county of Oxford. He is appointed Keeper of Oxford Castle in 1227 and 1235.

2. It is impossible to say whether these facts all belong to one Robert Amory, or are divided between him and his son Robert: and it is also uncertain whether this son Robert was elder brother or father to "Rogerus de Amory, filius et hæres Roberti de Amory," who succeeds by 1236. In 1228 Robert de Aumari levied a fine acknowledging the right of Thomas de Poignant to lands in the manor of Hameldon in Buckinghamshire. In 1236 this manor has passed to Roger, who then makes a "finalis concordia in cur 'domini Regis apud Bedeford" with the chief lord, the Abbot of Keynsham in Somersetshire, agreeing for himself and his heirs to pay to the Abbot half a mark every Christmas, with scutage when required, in lieu of all services and exactions. Roger released

in 1244 to the Hospital of St. John without the East Gate a messuage in the village of Thornborough, Bucks, which Elyas the Miller holding of him wished to give to the Hospital; and about the same time he made a release of the homage and service of William, son of Reginald de Mortimer, from one virgate of land . . . in Thornberge, and whatever could accrue to him the said Roger in the said village in reliefs, escheats, etc., except an annual rent of twelve pence. In 1238 the "Rentalia et Custumaria Michaelis de Ambresbury" (Somerset Record Society, 1891) shows Rogerus Amauri holding a virgate at Sturminster Newton in Dorsetshire; a mill also, with half a *ferdellam* of land.

In 1243 the King required scutage of every knight's fee. The demand made upon Roger de Aumeri was for three fees, but a charter from Henry d'Oily releasing to Radulfo de Aumary one knight's fee was produced in court, on which the barons gave judgment that Roger should pay two fees and the third be required of the heirs of d'Oily. The memorandum of this matter, quoted from the records of the Court, does not say whether the fees were at Bucknell or elsewhere, but Kennett introduces the story as referring to Roger de Amory, lord of the manor of Bucknell. In this same year "Rog. de Almarico, mil." presents to the rectory of Bucknell; in 1246 at Windsor he witnesses a grant of Thornborough land to St. John's without the East Gate, Oxford; in 1255 he is returned in the Hundred Roll as holding four hides in Woodperry of Richard, Earl of Cornwall; in 1257 he witnesses a charter of the Earl's and has leave to attend him for one year beyond the sea. It was in 1261, after the Earl of Cornwall's return to England as King of the Romans, that Roger's suit with Oseney was

brought to its end. In this year he sells one virgate in Chesterton. In 1264 the Rector of Bucknell having been made Bishop of Glasgow, Roger presents his own son Roger to the living. In 1268 he witnesses at Oxford John Fitz Alan's release of lands in Thornboro to the Hospital without the East Gate. In 1271 he gives a messuage in Oxford to the Convent of Godstow, together with his daughter Joan to become a nun there. In the same year he has an agreement with Oseney Abbey about the manor of Bucknell, paying to the Abbot £139 8*s.* 9*d.*, "unde dicti abbas et conventus omnes scripturas obligatorias et feoffamenta de manerio de Bukenhull et omnia alia instrumenta tam de dicto manerio quam de pecunia prefata dicto Rogero plenarie sine aliqua retencione restituerunt. . . . Prefatus vero Rogerus fatetur se plenarie recepisse omnia munimenta penes dictos abbatem et conventum deposita." In 1272 a Bicester charter is witnessed by "Domino Rogero de Aumari, Roberto filio ejus," and again in 1277 his son Robert is a witness with him. In the Hundred Roll of 1279 Roger holds two carucates of land in Bucknell of Hugh de Plessitis (of the fee of Doyley) and he of the King in Capite . . . the said Roger has in demesne in the same village one carucate of . . . de Cranford, and the same of the Abbot of Abingdon and gives for scutage "quando currit" for half a knight's fee. He also holds a meadow at Staunton. Among the free tenants at Bucknell is John of Sexington (a hamlet of Bucknell) who holds half a virgate of the Prior of Chetwood, who holds it of Rogero Dammor in frank almoigne, Ricardus Damori holding it of John for two shillings and eightpence a year. In a Quest for Rolls of fees in Somersetshire, made from 1279 to 1286, Rogerus Damory

is lord of Easton in Gordano and Crokern Pill. Ricardus Damari is "Dominus de Obbeleye," *i.e.*, Ubley, a village three or four miles to the south-east of Burrington.

3. Now follows a Robert, presumably Roger's son of that name who witnessed charters with him. The Oxfordshire Assize Roll for 1285 shows Hugh de Pleycis pleading against Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, for the wardship of Richard, the minor heir of Robert Amary, which he claims as his right, since of him the said Robert on the day when he was alive and dead held six carucates in Blechingdon, Thornborough, and Bucknell for the service of three knights' fees. To which the Earl replied that of him the said Robert held for one knight's fee the manor of Pyrye. Here evidently the Blechingdon and Bucknell groups are one: possibly they always were so; or, more probably, one of the lines died out and the other was its heir.

4. On the death in 1291 of Roger de Aumori, rector of Bucknell, Ric. de Aumori presents to the living. In 1297 the Sheriff returns Richard Dammary as holding lands or rents in the county of Oxford of the value of £20 per annum, and as being therefore summoned to perform military service in person with horses and arms in parts beyond the sea, to muster at London on the Sunday next before the octave of St. John the Baptist. In the same year he is summoned to appear with horses and arms at a military Council to be held before Edward the King's son wherever he shall be in England. A third summons announces that the place is Rochester. In 1299 Sir Richard witnesses a Bicester charter, and, to a FitzNigel and de Handlo agreement, "Hiis testibus: dominis Hugone le Despenser, Ricardo de Aumari . . . Egidio de Insula,

militibus." In 1300 he is returned as holding lands in the Counties of Somerset and Dorset of the value of £40, and is summoned to a muster at Carlisle for military service against the Scots. In this year he is made one of the two justices of Oyer and Terminer in the County of Oxford, and is appointed to receive the oath of his colleague; in 1301 is called again to serve against tho Scots; and in 1307 is made one of the conservators of the peace for Oxford, being enjoined a year or two later to greater activity in the duties of this commission. It is to him that the Knights Templars' lands are entrusted in 1309. One wonders if he could be the Sir Richard de Amory who at some time after 1270 gave away Winford to his sister's son, Sir Peter de Montfort de Beldésert. (See Collinson, "History of Somersetshire.") In 1306 and 1307 he is the principal witness in charters at Ottendun (now Oddington) and in 1311 grants the manor of Ottendun to Walter Poure and his wife Katherine, daughter of Robert D'Aumery of Blechesdon. Katharine is called "aunt and heir to the daughters of Richard Dalmorey her brother." (Visitation of Oxfordshire, 1574.)

5. Dugdale ("Baronage," vol. ii., p. 100) mentions a charter of the sixth year of Edward II. (1312) by which Nicholas Damorie obtained the right of free warren in all his demesne lands, within his manors of "Bokenhall (*i.e.*, Bucknell) and Blechesdon in Com. Oxon and Thornbergh in Com. Bucks." In 1313, however, Richard Damory gives the manor of Blechingdon to his brother Roger for life. In 1314 Richard Dammory and Margaret his wife concede to Giles and Alice de Lisle, for their lives, the manor of Thornborough, for which the said Giles and Alice are to pay them each year a rose on St. John the Baptist's Day. The de

Lisles also concede land at Preston and at Marsh Gibwyn, to Richard and Margaret, who, if they have no children, shall be succeeded by Richard's brother Roger, but if Roger have no heirs, the property is to return to Christian, daughter of Giles and Alice. Soon after this, Richard presents to the living of Bix Gibwyn.

In 1315 he witnesses a Fitz Alan charter confirming the one witnessed by Sir Roger de Amory in 1246; and is also a witness of deeds at Headington; has a grant of free warren at Bucknell, Blechingdon, Stoke de l'Isle, Woodperry and Bix-Gibwyn, in Oxfordshire, Ubley and Monkesham in Somersetshire, and Marsh and Thornborough, Bucks. A writ in 1316 certifies him as lord or joint lord of these and several other townships—Bixbrind, Rotherfield Greys, Stofford, Bainton, and Fencote. In 1319 he is allowed to have an annual market at Ubley, and at some time applies for leave to impark his lands at Monkesham. Already in 1313 he was Constable of Oxford Castle, and was commanded to raise as many foot-soldiers as possible in the county and march them to London; in 1318 he is summoned to a muster at Newcastle for service against the Scots; in 1319 and 1320 it is ordered that all the proceedings before him as Justice of Assize or otherwise shall be estreated into the Exchequer; in 1317 he is returned as a banneret, and in 1322 as a knight accustomed to arms, fit for service, and now with the King. This was the year of his brother Roger's death.

In 1316 Roger Damory had been certified by writ to be lord of the townships of Blechingdon, Eston cum Crokane (*i.e.*, Easton in Gordano and Crokern Pill) in Somersetshire, and Tholthorp and Flawarth in the county of York. In 1317

a royal official was commanded to take the homage due to the King from Hugh le Despencer, junior, Hugh de Audele, junior, and Roger Dammory, each of whom had married one of the three sisters and co-heiresses of the King's nephew Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. The Earl had fallen the year before in the battle of Bannockburn, and had no successor: his great estates were divided between his sisters, and were now, after the act of homage, to be delivered to the three husbands. Roger's wife was the youngest sister, Elizabeth, who had been married twice before, first to one of the de Burghs and then to Theobald de Verdon. As lord of Ewyas Sir Roger was in this year and the next commanded to raise fifty soldiers for the King's service and summoned in person for military service against the Scots, joining the muster at Newcastle in August. He presented to the church of Lutterworth, Leicester, Bertrand de Verdon having devised that right to him; and to that of Holbeche as custodian of Sir Robert de Willoughby's lands. He was summoned among the barons to Parliament from 1317; was Governor of Gloucester Castle; Warden of the Forests of Purbeck and Dean; Constable of Corfe, and twice Constable of Knaresborough; and stood so high in the King's favour that at his request release was granted to another baron of a ten-pounds relief due to the Exchequer. Beside castles in the marches of Wales, the manors of Sandhall, Halghton, Calthorp and Faukeshall (Vauxhall, Surrey), were bestowed by the King upon him and his wife Elizabeth, and he had grant of free warren at Calthorp, and at Staundon in Hertfordshire.

It was in 1319 that the King besieging Berwick offended Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, by saying that he would make Hugh le Despencer Governor of the castle, and Roger

Damory Governor of the town. The Earl thereupon withdrew with several of his forces, the army declared him a traitor and the siege failed. There was already much discontent among the barons, the power of the King's favourites, especially the Despencers, being jealously resented. A share in the De Clare estates was a claim to political power, and already, in 1317, Roger Damory had bound himself by oath and indenture with the Earl of Pembroke and Bartholomew, lord of Badlesmere, to seek supreme influence in the Royal Council, with the idea of forming a middle party between the baronial faction headed by Lancaster, and the King. (See Stubbs, "History of the English Constitution," vol. ii., chap. xvi., p. 357.) Roger was bound in a penalty of £10,000. Lancaster was then insisting that the King's gifts to D'Amory and de Audele, as well as to Despencer, were contrary to the ordinances, but by 1322 he had accepted D'Amory and Badlesmere as his allies. They had openly opposed the King, sharing in Parliament's attack on the Despencers. Edward, as soon as he dared, after granting them a formal pardon, pronounced them rebels, and called on the Welsh to seize their castles. Roger was captured by the royal forces at Tutbury, tried, and condemned to be hanged, but was spared "inasmuch as the King had loved him much," and he had married the King's niece. He was, however, attainted, and died very shortly after, at Tutbury. His forfeited estates, at least the Gloucestershire lands, were returned by royal order to his widow, Blechingdon was allowed to revert to his brother, and Faukeshall was given to Hugh le Despencer. Roger left no sons. His daughter Elizabeth was married to Thomas, Lord Bardolf, her grandson being the Thomas, Lord Bardolf, who forfeited for rebellion. It

is sometimes said that there was another daughter, who was ancestress of Sir Walter Raleigh. The will of "Elizabeth de Burgh, Ladie of Clare," dated September 15th, 1355, leaves to Sir Nicholas Damare and four other persons, 20 li., and to Sir William Cokin, lx^{s}., "for praier to be made for Sr John de Burghe, Sr Theobald de Verdon and Sr Roger Damory my lordes." During her widowhood she had founded Clare College at Cambridge.

Richard D'Amory was not drawn with his brother into rebellion. In 1323 the King calls him "Senescallus hospicii nostri," and sends him to besiege Wallingford Castle. He answers for the good behaviour of Matthew de Clyvedon, who has been an adherent of Lancaster, and for Walter de Pavely's payment of a fine. In 1325 he has to superintend the embarcation at Plymouth of forces for the defence of Aquitaine, also to hear all felonies committed among, against, or by the troops. In 1326 he is justice of Chester and Commissioner of Array for that county; is entrusted by the King with the lands of the heir of John de Ferrers; and, about this time, arranges his daughter Agnes's marriage with "young Sir Rauffe de Verdon." The negotiations on the de Verdon side were made by the bridegroom's great-great-grandfather, "old Sir Rauffe," who is said to have lived to the age of one hundred and fifty. In 1327 Sir Richard D'Amory is addressed as Justice of North Wales. The new King, Edward III., allows him to impark his woods at Ubley, Somersetshire, and Plimpton Perry, Northants. In 1323 he was addressed as "Miles de Com. Oxon," *i.e.*, knight of the shire; from the last year of Edward II., for his many faithful services to the King, he has summons to Parliament as a baron, an honour continued until his death in

1331. Leland says that he was buried in Bicester Priory, where were the tombs of many of his ancestors. In the *Inquisitio post mortem* his lands are named as Woodperry, one knight's fee; Staunton St. John, forty-three acres; the manor of Headington with the hundreds of Bullingdon and Northgate; four virgates in Marsh Gibwyn, held for the lives of himself, his wife, and their son Richard; Thornborough, granted for life to the De Lisles; Bucknell manor, one knight's fee; lands in Sexington worth forty shillings a year; Blechingdon, one knight's fee; two parts of the vill of Godyndone (now Godington); Ubley; Monkesham; and Plumstead Perry. Bucknell he assigned as dowry to his wife, Margaret.

6. The heir, his son Richard, is declared to be sixteen years of age. Richard, having made proof of his age and had livery of all his lands, was knighted in 1336, is mentioned as King's Yeoman in 1337, and was in the expedition to Flanders in 1340. After this, in order to equip himself to follow the King into France, he assigned several of his manors for a time to Matthew de Clyvedon. Returning to England only when the King returned, he was considered to have done his duty so fully as to be excused, in 1362, from providing men-at-arms, etc. He had already impoverished himself, and was rapidly breaking up his father's estate. Ubley he seems to have sold outright to Matthew Peche, in 1343; Godington, Woodperry, and Bucknell, he resigns to the King, in 1355, the year of his mother's death, keeping them only for his life; he makes a like arrangement with Sir John Chandos for Headington, Bullingdon, and Northgate, and to Roger and Sibilla de Beauchamp parts with bailiwicks which had been granted to him in the royal forests of Exmoor, Selwood, Mendip, etc.

Blechingdon he sold to the Lady Elizabeth, widow of his uncle Roger, Thornborough to William Fitz Lawrence. Staunton St. John, Mr. Turner implies, went to the King at the same time with Bucknell; Monkesham and Plimpton Perry were also alienated. The Chandos heirs were dividing the Headington property in 1374, which makes Richard's death a year or two earlier than is generally said. There is no evidence that he had heirs, or that he was ever married.

It is possible that the Sir Nicholas Damare, named in Elizabeth de Clare's will, was Richard's brother. In the Parliamentary History of Oxfordshire (1899) it is said that the King desires the Chancellor of Salisbury, May 27th, 1357, to assist Sir Nicholas Damory and Sir Thomas de Fulnetby, whom he sends to the Pope. On the 18th of April, 1365, payment is made out of the King's revenue ("Issues of the Exchequer," F. Devon, 1837, p. 183), "To Sir Nicholas Dammory, knight, sent to Canterbury and Dover for the safe conduct of the body of John late King of France. . . . £6 „ 13 „ 4." Nicholas Dammory was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Oxford, in 1361, 1365, 1366, and 1368.

I have omitted to mention Walter Dammary, who in 1322 and 1327 pays to the subsidy at Bucknell about two shillings, and in the latter year two shillings and sixpence at Chesterton. Sir Richard, as lord of Bucknell, was at the same time paying eight shillings and sixpence, or ten shillings; for Woodperry, eight and tenpence; for Blechesdon, three and fourpence. There was at this time a Walter Dammary, a priest.

Kennett, at the year 1281, mentioning Sir Almeric de St. Amand, observes that his ancestors had given to the abbey of

Godstow twenty-five acres in Blechesdon to sow yearly, and twenty-five to lie fallow: for which he refers to the "Monasticon," vol. i., p. 525.

In 1304, Gilbert Amary de Keynsham, in Somertshire, had leave to bestow land at High Littleton in that county upon Keynsham Abbey; it seems that the next year the same land is owned by his son, Gilbert Ammory de Keynsham, junior.

Also, in 1304, died John Dammary of Somersetshire, whose heir, John Dammary, was one year old. The property named is a house at Hurdecote, held of the Princess Mary; eighteen acres at Somerton, of the Queen; twenty-six acres at Sutton, and some at Werne, of William de Venouve; five acres at Martock of Robert St. Clare; Saltmore; Bodeclyve; and a messuage and garden, with more than twenty-nine acres, at West Chinnock.

1405. Richard Daumari, of Plymouth, Devonshire, has a grant of lands at Sutton.

1408. Richard Amory, of Thorpe next Barkeby, Leicestershire, grants a messuage and lands there to his son, John Amory. ("Calendar of Ancient Deeds," 1894, vol. i.)

1441. Richard Daumere, of New Shoreham.

1449. John Amerey, priest at Lilestock, Somersetshire. (Somerset Incumbents.)

1463. Amory Hugoni Rex concedit officium Hostarii Cambi R^{s} infra Turrim London de tribus donãs allocat pro radiis suis p. diem q^{d} antiquibus fuit allocat tempore Edw. 3. (Close Rolls.)

1483. The Churchwardens of St. John's, Glastonbury, buy "spikenail et cramptis ferreis" from John Amore. ("Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries," vol iv., p. 235.)

1488. The Earl of Oxford holds a Court of Admiralty at Rokesmylle, Somerset, in the presence of "Ricardo Amerik, commissionario nostro generali in Com. Som., Glouc., et Worc." (Joannes Glastoniensis, edited by Thomas Hearne, 1726. Vol. ii., p. 345.)

1503. The Abbot of Glastonbury, perambulating his estates and walking east from Brutessayshe, comes on the first day to a manor "formerly of Almery, Seneschal of Bradley," held now by Richard Norys, *armiger*. (Joannes Glastoniensis, vol. ii.) In 1517 the Abbot's Terrier shows at Wrington and Burrington no Amory.

1516. Star-Chamber proceedings against James Amore, of Derbyshire, accused of coining.

1518. John Amore, of Petersheys, Devon, brings suit against the sheriff who has seized his cattle.

1524. William Amere and John Amere are assessed to the subsidy at Bishop's Nymet, Devon.

1534. Spellesbury (Oxon.) Court Rolls: 24th Oct. 25 Hen. VIII. Chadlington. William Damoroy, Miller, fined for taking toll in excess. To this court comes Thomas Damoroy, son and heir of Robert Damoroy, deceased, and does fealty for a messuage called Coldron Mill. Is admitted a free tenant.

1535. William Amory, of Dunster, Somerset, makes his will.

1536 (or soon after) John Amerye, a monk of Myssenden, Bucks, has a grant of £113 a year until he shall receive benefices of a like value.

1537. The King (Henry VIII.) makes a purchase of wools through John Amory and his fellows, "*captores* of the

wools in Co. Leicester." ("Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury," Somerset Record Society, 1896.)

1540. Among the life annuities granted to Anne of Cleves on her marriage with the King is one of £10 out of the farm of two parks, and a third part of the manor of Godyngton, Oxon. Payable by Ric. Damory and his heirs. ("Domestic State Papers, Henry VIII.," Master of the Rolls Series, vols. xii.-xv.)

The notes following, down to the year 1650, were, with one or two exceptions, collected by Mr. H. G. Somerby,[5] who undertook, in 1863, a search of parish registers, in order to join our Bristol ancestor at some point with the Damer line of ascent to John Damerey of South Molton. Misled by the Dublin Pedigree, which has not Thomas, but an apocryphal Robert, as father of Thomas of Galy, Mr. Somerby copied the entries at Wrington in regard to our ancestors without recognizing them, and for thirty years in a like unconsciousness we possessed his copies. There may still be more than we see in the rest of them.

1540. John Amore, of Glastonbury, makes his will.

1542. Wills of James Amere als. Prier of Stogursey, Somerset; of John Amerey of the same place, has a son Richard Amery, mentions Edmund Amery; of John Amore, Ottery, Somerset: wife Joan, sons Henry, John, and Thomas, brothers Thomas and William, daughter Elizabeth, son-in-law, John Hobbs.

1554. Robert Amory is Sheriff of Chester. Ormerod, "History of Cheshire," is quoted by Mr. Somerby as saying that this office was afterwards held by several Robert Amorys, and that in 1783 Thomas Amory was Mayor. These were

all members of a family which, when Ormerod wrote, had for three centuries occupied Coghall Farm at Backford, near Chester. Mr. Turner says that their arms were different from those of the Oxon and Devon families. Jonathan Amery, son of Thomas Amery, of Chester, took the Dublin B.A. in 1707.

1567, October 6th, Hugh Amerye marries Peternell Peirs at Bishop's Nymet.

1567-8, February 4th. Thomas, son of Hugh Amerye, is baptized at Bishop's Nymet.

1570. George Amorye marries Margery Ayer at Bishop's Nymet.

1570. Robtus Amorye at Southover, Wells (parish of St. Cuthbert's), pays to the subsidy, on land of 20 shillings annual value, two shillings and eightpence.

1579. Thomas and Giles Amory, brothers of Robert Amory, of Bishop's Nymet, deceased, are appointed administrators of the said Robert's property. (Admon. Grants, Somerset House.)

1587. William Amery, brother of Ralph Amery, of Lutterworth, Leicestershire, deceased, is appointed administrator.

1588. Will of John Amerey, of Over Compton, Dorset; brothers Edward (deceased) and George.

1591. William Amorye, of South Molton, husbandman, makes his will. Only son Robert. (Only grandson, Robert, baptized 1620.)

1591. Anne, relict of Ralph Amory, of the parish of St. Augustine next Paul's Wharf, London.

1597. Ralph Amery, son of Richard Amery, same parish.

Ralph Amery, son of Anne Amery, widow, of St. Alphege, Cripplegate.

1593. Will of Richard Amorye, of South Molton. Son Robert, from whom Mr. T. C. Amory's correspondent, the Rev. Thomas Amory, Vicar of St. Teath, Cornwall, born 1793, died *s. p.* 1878, believed himself to descend in the sixth generation.

1593. Mary Nicholas *alias* Amory, daughter of Robert Amory, of Ilminster, Somerset, dies.

Early in the seventeenth century there were in Somersetshire, at Durston, John Amerey; at Williton, William and Henry Amery; at Hakeway, William and John; at Bicknoller, Thomas and Philip. In Devonshire, beside large groups at South Molton and Bishop's Nymet, there was a John Amerie at Culm Stock; at Abotisham, Henry Amery, a mariner, with sons Henry, Gabriel, and Salathiel, of whom Gabriel died at Dublin in 1629, leaving all he had to his brother Salathiel.

At Stogumber, a village in Somersetshire west of the Quantock Hills, the register begins in 1559, but is deficient from 1602 to 1610. Mr. Somerby notes from the baptisms: 1595, Richard Amery, 1597, William Amery, 1601, Thomas, son of Henry Amery; and from 1630 to 1644, nine children of William Amory; one is not named: the rest are Richard, Christopher, Henry, John, Rachel, Hugh, John, Joan.

From the burials: 1600, the wife of Henry Amery; 1631, Henry Amery; 1639, John Amery; 1644, Richard Amery. The will of Henry Amerie of Stogumber, Somerset, 1631, names his wife Alice, daughters Elizabeth Hills and Alice Parsons; sons, Richard, Henry, John, William. The will of

Richard Ammery of Stogumber, clothier, made 1639, proved 1644, mentions "my mother Alice Ammery," sisters Elizabeth Hills and Alice Parsons; brothers William (with his three children, John, Henry, William), Henry, and Hugh. "I doe give unto my brother Hugh Ammery £40 . . . if the sayd Hugh do come again into this countrey within seaven years and demand the same of my executors."

In regard to Mrs. O'Connor's "Emorys:" Apart from Bunratty and his son, Thomas Amory of Boston had no relations to be called Emory or Amory, unless it were his four second cousins, John, Hugh, Robert, and William, baptised at Wrington, but not again found in the records there. It is likely enough that they moved to Bristol; the city books have not been searched for them. At Brislington, although no present inhabitant has the name, an Emory is in the register in 1686, and the Ordnance maps still mark "Emery's Farm." The "Bristol Directory" for 1895 contains twenty-seven Emerys. Before the end of the seventeenth century Emory and Emery appear in the Wrington books, but are quite distinct from our relations, and have an unfamiliar set of Christian names, Isaac, Nathaniel, Joseph, etc.

There are three Amorys now at Clifton. Mr. James H. Amory, living there about thirty years ago, had a correspondence on genealogy with Mr. T. C. Amory, in which he states that his father, a naval officer, was named Robert, and had brothers Richard, Walter, and James. Richard emigrated about 1750, and was never heard of again. Their tradition was that they had for many generations lived on the borders of Devon and Somerset, but they had no records.

We have a half-sheet of writing in three paragraphs, of

which the last is in a hand unknown to me; the first two are written by Thomas Amory, who married Elizabeth Coffin :

1. "'You'l let me know if you have heard of or know one Captain John Amory who lives on the Continent of America or one of its Isles. I had an account of his living in New York about seven years since, but no certainty that I could rely on, he being an only Brother of mine that left this Kingdom about twenty years since.

"'MARY HAWKESWORTH.'

Dated Ennis in Ireland."

2. "Mr. Smith, please to enquire concerning the above person and family and show him this extract—Yours THO. AMORY."

3. "Captn John Amory died in 1759, has left a son who is marry'd and lives at Albany. About 18 years of Age—nam'd John, is in no Business. The Girl he marryed is of a good Family but in Low circumstances."

Savage notices William Amory at Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1695, and Simon Amory, a freeman of Boston, where he died in 1677. His wife's name was Mary. There is nothing to connect him with Simon Amory of Taunton, whom our ancestor met in 1720.

An Amory family at St. Kitts trace to William Amory born in that island in 1756, who in 1775 married at New York, Anna Catherine Roosevelt. Benjamin Amory the younger, of St. Kitts and Tavistock Street, Bedford Square, London, is mentioned in Oliver's "History of Antigua," vol. ii., p. 80, as buying, in 1803, a St. Kitts' plantation for £14,000.

In 1880 Mr. T. C. Amory had correspondents in Wisconsin and New York, whose ancestor, Colonel John Amory, was born in Ireland, lived at Dublin and Bristol, sailed from Liverpool for Nova Scotia in 1780, with his only son, James (aged twelve), had a grant of land in Canada, was in New York before the departure of the English troops in 1783, and remained there for the rest of his life. James remembered his grandfather's house in College Green, Dublin.

The Rev. Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, Massachusetts (according to a letter received by Mr. T. C. Amory, in 1859, signed Richard C. Morse), held a correspondence on Theological subjects with a "Mr. James Amory" in 1790-1.

As to possible ancestors of Hugh Amory—Mr. Somerby's copies from Bishop's Nymet give no second record of Hugh Amerye and Peternell Peirs, married in 1567, nor of Thomas, son of Hugh Amerye, baptized in 1568. Suppose that Hugh and Peternell moved into another parish, had more sons and named one of them Hugh; and that such Hugh, becoming Agnes Young's third husband before he was thirty-four, died at Wrington in 1626. This gratuitous hypothesis could be tested by a strict search of the books at Bishop's Nymet and at Loxton. If Agnes married out of the latter parish, her husband's home would be named in the register, leading up by her second and third marriages to where Hugh of Wrington formerly lived.

A LIST OF AUTHORITIES.

CHAPTER I.

Page 1. Reference (1). Hugh Amory living at Wrington, 1605. Parish Register, Wrington. (2.) Assessed to the Benevolence of 1622. "In the Rolls Office," Letter from H. G. Somerby, July 9, 1864. T. C. A.

Page 2. (3.) In two rolls for the subsidy of 1621. Somerset Subsidies, Subsidy Room, Record Office. (4.) Called "yeoman." Prentice Book, September 2, 1624, Council House, Bristol. (5.) "A Robert Amory at Burrington." Letter from H. G. Somerby, May 12, 1865. T. C. A.

Page 3. (6.) Agnes Amory pays to a subsidy, 1628. Somerset Subsidies, Subsidy Room, Record Office. (7.) Chancery Petition of Agnes Amery, June 18, 1632. "Chancery Proceedings, Record Office;" report from Mr. W. H. Turner, about 1873. T. C. A. (8.) A Loxton Subsidy-roll, 1550, 1597. Somerset Subsidies, Subsidy Room, Record Office. (9.) Agnes Amory's Will, proved 1640. Original, District Registry, Wells.

Page 7. (10.) The Rev. Samuel Crooke. Dictionary of National Biography.—Life and Death of Samuel Crooke, by W. G., 1661.—Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 1813.—Crooke, rector of Wrington, by E. Greene, in Proceedings of the Bath Field Club, 1874.—Diocese of Bath and Wells, by the Rev. W. Hunt, 1885. (11.) The building of pews. Churchwarden's Accounts, 1634-1675, Wrington.

Page 8. (12.) Henry Backwell on the roll of the trained band. Note-book of John Locke, father of the philosopher, 1629-1655, British Museum, Addit. MSS., No. 28273. (13.) John Amory accused as a rebel. Churchwardens' Accounts, 1634-1675, Wrington. See Rushworth, vi. 715. (14.) John Amory reported as "a fitting Elder." The County of Somerset Divided, Bodleian Library, Gough, Somerset, 1 Pamph. 80. (15.) Two Somerset men suspected, 1664. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1663-1664, by M. A. Everett Green, pp. 590, 598, 645. (16.) John Amory's death in 1681-2 (erroneously given in the text as 1680-1). Parish Register, Wrington. (17.) A property called "Brean's." Churchwardens' Accounts, 1634-1675, and Rector's Tithe-book (see below), Wrington. (18.) The Rector's Tithe-book. Small volume marked "Dr. Powell, 1678," Wrington. The Rev. John Powell was Rector, 1675-1681.

Page 9. (19.) Matthew Amory a scrivener. Prentice Book, Sept. 29, 1655, Council House, Bristol. (20.) Matthew Amory, no m. reg'd., died 1681 (January, 1681-2). Parish Register, Wrington. (21.) John Amory, junior, died 1719. Parish Register, Wrington. (22.) John Amory, junior, married Elizabeth Talbot by 1653. Chancery Bills and Answers before 1714 : R. $\frac{1}{15}$ Amory and Talbott 1653; R $\frac{1}{18}$ Amory and Talbott, 1653. Legal Search Room, Record Office. (23.) John and Elizabeth Amory left a daughter and four sons. Parish Register, Wrington.

CHAPTER II.

Page 10. (24.) Thomas Amory apprenticed at sixteen. Prentice Book, Sept. 2, 1624, Council House, Bristol. (25.) Robert Elliott, Sheriff of Bristol, 1633. The Mayor's Calendar, Council House, Bristol. (26.) Robert Elliott, Churchwarden of St. Nicholas. Churchwardens' Accounts, 1629-1662, St. Nicholas' Church, Bristol. (27.) Robert Elliott and his wife died, 1643. Parish Register, St.

Nicholas, Bristol. (28.) Thomas Amory takes up his freedom, 1630-31. Burgess Book, March 15, 1630-1, Council House, Bristol.

Page 11. (29.) Marries Ann Elliott, Nov. 7, 1631. Parish Register, St. Nicholas, Bristol. (30.) Becomes a Merchant Venturer, 1638. Earliest volume of the Company's Records, Merchants' Hall, Bristol.

Page 12. (31.) Contributes to the citizens' loan to Colonel Fiennes. Manuscript notes in Evans's Chronological History of Bristol, published 1824, Bristol Museum and Library. (32.) Is one of the ten Assistants of the Merchant Venturers. Earliest volume of Records, Merchants' Hall, Bristol. (33.) Sidesman at St. Nicholas. Churchwardens' Accounts, St. Nicholas, Bristol.

Page 13. (34.) Elected to the Common Council. Minutes of the Council, Council House, Bristol. (35.) Prince Rupert's vindication. Evans. (36.) Thomas Amory is one of the two Wardens of the Merchant Venturers. Earliest volume of the Company's Records, Merchants' Hall, Bristol.

Page 14. (37.) Is among the creditors of a compounding royalist. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Royalist Composition Papers, Record Office or British Museum. (38.) Takes a lease at Brislington. Chancery Bills and Answers before 1714: Hamilton $\frac{I}{17}$ Amory and Langton; Hamilton $\frac{I}{15}$ Amory and Earle, Legal Search Room, Record Office. (39.) Takes Parphey's holding there. Chancery Bills and Answers as in Reference 38. (NOTE: On page 94 the reference "39" is an error: it should be 76.) (40.) Takes Cottrell's holding. Chancery Depositions before 1714: R. 954, Amory and Tucker; R. 955, R. 1021, M. 284, Amory and Mathen, Legal Search Room, Record Office. *There is no Ref.* 41. (42.) His daughter, Elizabeth, married by 1667. This is an inference from her being named in her brother's will in 1666, but not in the codicil in 1667, although she was living in 1704. Will of Thomas Amory of Galy; parchment copy made 1667. T. C. A.—Also another copy in Prerogative Will Book, Public Record Office, Dublin. (43.) Children baptized at St. Nicholas. Parish Register, St. Nicholas, Bristol.

Page 15. (44.) John Amory deposes in 1704. See above, Ref. 40. (45.) Thomas Amory, Sheriff of Bristol, 1652. Minutes of the Council.—The Mayors' Calendar. Council House, Bristol.

Page 16. (46.) Mr. Towgood joined in a plot. Dictionary of National Biography, article on Richard Towgood.—Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, ii., 4.—Evans. (47.) A Presbyterian Vicar of St. Nicholas. Dictionary of National Biography, article on Constantine Jessop.—Churchwardens' Accounts, St. Nicholas. (48.) Another Presbyterian. Churchwardens' Accounts, St. Nicholas.—Evans.—See also "Satan Inthroned" and other writings of the Rev. Ralph Farmer in the Bodleian Library.

Page 17. (49.) Thomas Amory accompt current with John Bowen. Chancery Bills and Answers before 1714: Bridges 386, Amory and Bowen; Bridges 387, Amory and Porrimont, Legal Search Room, Record Office. (50.) Colour-works. See above, Ref. 40.

Page 18. (51.) "Pauperism," says a modern writer. Social Life in England from the Restoration to the Revolution, by W. C. Sydney, London, 1892. (52.) Thomas Amory assigned the lease. See above, Ref. 38. (53.) Thomas Amory of Galy called "merchant." Will of Patrick Fitzmaurice, 19th Baron Kerry of Lixnaw, 1660, Parchment, Public Record Office, Dublin. (54.) Thomas of Galy's brother Hugh called "merchant." Grant of Administration on the goods of Hugh Amory, 1661, Public Record Office, Dublin.

Page 19. (55.) Leases and surrenders from his father. See above, Ref. 38. (56.) Election of a Keeper of the Backhall. Minutes of the Council, 1658, Council House, Bristol. (57.) The Apprentices of Bristol, 1659-60. Evans. (58.) Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. Minutes of the Council, September 14, 1660, Council House, Bristol.

Page 20. (59.) Evidence before the Court of Chancery, 1689. Ref. 40.

CHAPTER III.

Page 23. (60.) Lord Kerry names six trustees. Ref. 53. (61.) Thomas of Galy mortgages the Brislington property. Ref. 38.

Page 24. (62.) Member for Ardfert. Foster's Lists of the Irish Parliament. (63.) Administers his brother Hugh's estate. Ref. 54. (64.) Recommended to Ormond by the Queen. Carte Papers in Bodleian Library, vol. xliii., p. 90, copied by Mr. W. H. Turner. T. C. A. (65.) A grant of Ballyboneene. Paper laid between the leaves of a manuscript volume, "Collectanea Genealogica, 2nd Series, Woods, V. Betham," College of Arms, Dublin. (66.) Suggests fire-ships. Carte Papers, vol. xxxv., p. 157, copied by W. H. Turner. T. C. A. (67.) Will made in August, 1666. Parchment copy made in 1667. T. C. A.—Another copy in Prerogative Will Book, Public Record Office, Dublin. (68.) Robert Elliott, junior, unsuccessful planter in Antigua. History of Antigua, by Vere Langford Oliver, London, 1894, vol. i., p. 238.

Page 25. (69.) Death before 1704 of Ann (Elliott) Amory, and of her son Henry. Ref. 40. (70.) John and Robert Amory at Galway. Ref. 40. History of Galway, by James Hardiman, 1820.—Statute Book of the Town of Galway, Historical Manuscripts Commission. (71.) Gilbert's Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, 1898, vol. vi.—History of Dublin, by Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, 1818.—Certified copy of the deed of 1675. T. C. A.

Page 26. (72.) Will of David Houston. Copy in Prerogative Will Book, Public Record Office, Dublin. (73.) Marriage Licence, Amory et Houston, 1677, Dublin Grants, Public Record Office, Dublin. (74.) A letter written fifty years later, by Thomas Amory of Bunratty, June 21, 1722. Ref. 138[b]. E.

Page 27. (75.) St Andrew's Registers, 1670-1690, Public Record Office, Dublin. (76.) Record by our ancestor who settled in Boston. Type-written copy sent to me in 1897 by Mr. G. T. Dexter

(who says that the original is in "a blank book containing no other writing," owned by Miss Mary L. Amory, grand-daughter of the first Thomas Coffin Amory). T. C. A.—NOTE. On page 94 the reference for this record is given by mistake as "39," instead of 76.

Page 28. (77.) Robert left Galway for the West Indies. Ref. 40. (78.) Rebecca Amory in the register of a Church in Barbadoes. Vol. iv., p. 159, of ten manuscript volumes of "Amory Ana," collected by Mr. T. C. Amory. T. C. A. (79.) Thomas is said by his widow—Paper book containing copies of documents probably collected in 1844 for Mr. James Trecothick Austin. One document is this account of her husband by Rebecca (Holmes) Amory, 1728. T. C. A. (80.) Letter from the Lords Proprietors, November 8, 1691. Colonial Records of North Carolina, by William Saunders, vol. i., p. 383.

Page 29. (81.) Dublin Grants: Marriage, Ramsay et Houston; Admons., Humphrey Houston, Rebecca Amory, Pub. Rec. Off., Dublin.

CHAPTER IV.

Page 31. (82.) The Lords Proprietors' instructions to Governor Ludwell. Ref. 80. (83.) First American Bill of Rights. So called in McCrady's "History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government," 1897, p. 239 *et seq.*

Page 32. (84.) Address to the Lords Proprietors on Archdale's return to England. "Amory Ana," vol. iii., p. 47 (where it is said to be copied from "The History of North Carolina, 1812, vol. i., p. 270"). T. C. A.

Page 33. (85.) Proprietors' record of grants of land. Manuscript volume, "P. R. O., 23 Carolina," Subsidy Room, Record Office. (86.) Will of Jonathan Amory, made 1697, proved 1699. Original destroyed in the burning of Columbia, 1865. Copy made after 1850. T. C. A. Copy brought from Carolina by Thomas Amory, 1720. E.

Page 34. (87.) (Reference omitted in text.) Sarah Amory, an

infant, the only daughter living. This and the facts on the same page about Joseph Croskeys and his wife Margaret are taken from a paper of copies from the Provincial records in Carolina, made by Mr. Wilmot G. de Saussure, of Charleston, and kindly sent by him to Mr. T. C. Amory, at the request of Miss Margaret Deas Huger, whose father was a great-great-grandson of Sarah Amory and Arthur Middleton. T. C. A.

Page 35. (88.) The Governor and Council write of a "mortal distemper," 1699. "Lists and Abstracts of Papers in the State Paper Office, London, relating to South Carolina: done under authority for the Historical Society of South Carolina, 1857."

Page 36. (89.) Rhett and Trott, the most distinguished Carolinians of their day. Ramsey, History of South Carolina, 1809.—See also Dalcho, History of the Church in South Carolina, 1820.—South Carolina Historical Society, as above, 1857.—Fiske, Old Virginia and her Neighbours, 1897.—McCrady, South Carolina under Proprietary and under Royal Government, 1897, 2 vols. (90.) Trott and his wife witness Martha Amory's will. As in Reference 86.

Page 37. (91.) Act of Assembly enabling Mrs. Rhett to sell. Copies, E. and T. C. A. (92.) Mrs. Rhett's account, rendered 1707. Copy owned by Thomas Amory in 1720. T. C. A.

Page 38. (93.) Dr. Joseph Johnson, 1851. "Traditions of the Revolution in South Carolina."

Page 39. (94.) Public Library at Charleston. Dalcho.—McCrady.

CHAPTER V.

Page 42. (95.) Ann Ramsey and her husband write. Their letters partly E., partly T. C. A. (96.) Lucy, daughter of Thomas Amory, of Galy, died unmarried. Ref. 40. Also Pedigree at College of Arms, Dublin; copy by Sir J. B. Burke. T. C. A. (97.) Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Amory of Galy, married,

(1) Hart, (2) Croker. Dublin pedigree as above; copy, T. C. A. Letter from Julia O'Connor, November 5, 1730; copy in paper book (Ref. 79), T. C. A. (98.) Mary O'Connor went with her father to France, and became a nun; Julia married her cousin. "Old Kerry Records," by Miss Hickson. (99.) Bunratty at Trinity College. The College Records, Dublin. Also official copy, 1898. T. C. A. (100.) Allowed to act as executor, 1681. Admon. Grants, Public Record Office, Dublin. (101.) Exchequer decree, 1683. Official copy. T. C. A.

Page 43. (102.) Middle Temple, 1683. Copy of record furnished in 1898 by the Treasurer of the Middle Temple. T. C. A. (103.) Register to the second Irish Forfeitures Commission, 1700. Diary of Narcissus Luttrell.—Also memorandum in unknown handwriting: "T. Amory is the name signed to the correspondence of the Forfeited Estates Commission at Chichester House." T. C. A. (104.) Robert Amory lands at Galway, 1702. Ref. 40. (105.) Buys some of the Clare lands. Letter from Julia O'Connor, Ref. 97. T. C. A. (106.) Deeds of sale, 1704-1709. Certified copies of seven deeds of sale of the Clare lands. These copies, with other papers relating to descendants of Thomas of Galy, were bought by Mr. T. C. Amory about 1884, through Mr. George C. Mahon, from Mr. Philip Dwyer, who collected them in Ireland. T. C. A. See also letter from Counsellor Leeson, Ref. 143. T. C. A. (107.) Bunratty's settlement of his estate, 1726. Paper book, Ref. 79. T. C. A.

Page 44. (108.) Mrs. Luttrell, 1703. Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library, A. 253, f. 393, copy by W. H. Turner. T. C. A. (109.) Copy of Robert Amory's will, sent from Antigua, 1712. Public Record Office, Dublin.—See also Oliver's History of Antigua, vol. ii., pp. 36, 122, 259, 367. (110.) Purchase of Bunratty Castle, 1712. Letter from Captain Richard Studdert, Dwyer papers, Ref. 106. T. C. A. Dublin pedigree, Ref. 96. T. C. A. See Carlyle's Cromwell, Letter xcvii., 1649.

Page 45. (111.) Town-house in King Street, North Dublin.

Will of Thomas Amory of Bunratty, paper book, Ref. 79. T. C. A. (112.) Elizabeth Durroy, 1717. Dublin pedigree, Ref. 96. T. C. A. (113.) Suit of a Bristol merchant, 1719. "The case of John Cary, Esq., London, 1719," British Museum. (114.) Thomas Amy's history. McCrady, "South Carolina under the Proprietary Government," p. 459.

CHAPTER VI.

Page 47. (115.) Thomas Amory's pocket-book, 1699. E. (116.) Letter from Nicholas Oursel, April 30, 1706. E.

Page 48. (117.) Letter from Mrs. Rhett, Nov. 20, 1706. E.

Page 49. (118.) Letter-Books of Thomas Amory, 5 vols., 1711-1714 and 1717-1728. E.

CHAPTER VII.

Page 66. (119.) Letters from Arthur Middleton, 1719. E.

Page 67. (120.) From Colonel Rhett, May 26, 1719. E.

Page 70. (121.) From Bunratty, October 7, 1719. E.

Page 73. (122.) Power of attorney from Thomas Amory to Arthur Middleton and others, 1720. T. C. A.

Page 76. (123.) The King had received an address from Carolina, 1717. In a packet of original letters, "P. R. O., 620 Carolina, 1699-1724," Record Office. (124.) Colonel Rhett accused. Ref. 123.

Page 77. (125.) The Assembly's address to Governor Johnson, December 21, 1719. Carroll, Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836.

Page 78. (126.) Letter from Francis Holmes, May 17, 1721. E.

Pages 89 and 95. (127.) Captain Holmes's Wharf and Amory's Wharf. Maps of Boston in 1714 and 1722, in "History of Boston," by S. G. Drake.

Page 80. (128.) Letter from Arthur Middleton, June 9, 1721. E.

Page 81. (129.) Ditto, March 9, 1721-2. E.

Page 82. (130.) Subscribing for the "New England Courant," 1722. Account-book of Thomas Amory. E. (131.) Letter from Arthur Middleton, April 16, 1722. E.

Page 84. (132.) Ditto, July 26, 1722. E. (133.) From Godin & Co., May 25, 1722. E.

Page 85. (134.) A tradition at Charleston. Ref. 93. Also letters from Dr. Joseph Johnson, 1852; from Mr. W. G. de Saussure, 1885, and from Mr. W. G. Whilden, 1893. T. C. A.

CHAPTER VIII.

Page 87. (135.) Inventory of Merchandise, etc., October 15, 1720. T. C. A.

Page 89. (136.) Dépence to Mrs. Holmes, 1719. Account-book. E.

Page 92. (137.) Letter from Francis Holmes to his daughter, 1720. E.

Page 98. (138.) From Ann Ramsey, 1722. E.

Page 100. (138^{b}.) From Thomas of Bunratty, June 21, 1722. E.

Page 102. (139.) From Isaac Holmes, July 29, 1728. E.

Page 103. (140.) Inventory of Thomas Amory's property, 1728. Suffolk Probate Records, vol. xxiii., p. 165, copied in "Amory Ana," vol. i., p. 267. T. C. A. (141.) Final account rendered by the executrix, 1743. Suffolk Probate Records, vol. xxxvi., p. 17, noted in one of five 8 by 14-inch MS. vols. T. C. A. (142.) Letters from John Amory, July 17, 1728; copy in paper book, Ref. 79. From Ann Ramsey, August 8, 1728. T. C. A. From Mrs. Amory of Bunratty, August 13, 1728. E.

Page 104. (143.) Entail cut off in legal form, 1726. Letter

from "Counsellor" William Leeson, Dublin, to his old friend Robert Auchmuty, Boston, February 4, 1729. T. C. A.

Page 105. (144.) Wasted time and trouble. Correspondence, 1728-1734. Partly E., partly T. C. A.

Page 106. (145.) Letter from Thomas Amory of Rathlahine, 1732. T. C. A. (146.) From Julia O'Connor, November 5, 1730. Ref. 79.

Page 107. (147.) Ditto. May 15, 1731. T. C. A. (148.) From Ann Ramsey, Aug. 2, 1734. T. C. A. (There is no reference 149.) (150.) Author of "John Buncle." "National Dictionary of Biography," article on Thomas Amory.

Page 108. (151.) Sons of Robert Amory of Wakefield. "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lix.

CHAPTER IX.

Page 109. (152.) "School-master fines" (*i.e.* fees), 1726. Account-book. E. Latin School, Harvard, etc., "Amory Ana," vol. iv., 181. T. C. A. (153.) Described in deeds. T. C. A.

Page 110. (154.) Sons of William and Anne Coffin. "Coffin Gatherings," by W. S. Appleton, 1897. (155.) J. and J. Amory, partners, 1757. Drake's "History of Boston," p. 642.

Page 111. (156.) Undated memorandum. T. C. A. (157.) Letter from Thomas Amory. T. C. A.

Page 112. (158.) Copy of letter from Limerick, 1750, T. C. A. (159.) Bricks thrown at the windows. "Amory Ana," iv., 187. T. C. A.

Page 113. (160.) Letter from Thomas Amory, 1769. Rough draught. T. C. A. (161.) From E. W. Burton, November 28, 1769. T. C. A. (162.) From William Spaight, August 15, 1769. T. C. A.

Page 114. (163.) Letter from Dublin, 1844. See above, Ref. 79.

Page 116. (164.) Legal advice of Mr. J. T. Austin. Ref. 79 and "Amory Ana," vol. iv., p. 149. T. C. A.

Page 118. (165.) Mr. T. C. Amory. MS. book, 1850; and his journal, May 29, 1832. T. C. A.

Page 119. (166.) "Just below the Towne House." Drake, "History of Boston," p. 642. (167.) Mr. S. A. Drake, "Landmarks of Old Boston."

Page 120. (168.) John Amory's house. "Amory Ana," vol. v., p. 187, *et seq.* (169.) Memorial to the General Court, 1760. Drake, "History of Boston."

Page 121. (170.) Destruction of Hutchinson's house, August 26, 1765. Hosmer, Life of Thomas Hutchinson, 1896.

Page 123. (171.) Letter-Books of Jonathan and John Amory, 1765-1786. E.

CHAPTER X.

Page 127. (172.) Tradition in regard to letters of J. and J. Amory, 1765. "Amory Ana," vol. vi., pp. 42-158. (173.) Evidence of London merchants. Journal of the House of Commons, February and March, 1766. (174.) Twenty-three petitions in a fortnight. Journal of the House of Commons, January, 1766.

Page 141. (175.) Bill for a punch-strainer, 1767. T. C. A.

Page 142. (176.) Payne and Newell on Town Committees. Drake, History of Boston.

CHAPTER XI.

Page 163. (177.) Bill for portrait, 1769. T. C. A. (178.) Letter by John Hancock, November, 1769. "John Hancock's Letter-Book," by Abram English Brown, printed in Boston Transcript, January, 1898.

Page 167. (179.) Letter from Dr. Samuel Cooper, May 12, 1770. T. C. A.

CHAPTER XII.

Page 181. (180.) Nathaniel Coffin and his sons Addressers of Hutchinson, May, 1774. Sabine, "American Loyalists."

Page 203. (181.) Thomas Amory, William Coffin junior, and Nathaniel Coffin, Addressers of General Gage, 1775. Sabine. (182.) William Coffin died in June, 1775, his wife Anne (Holmes) in August. Letters of Administration. T. C. A.

CHAPTER XIII.

Page 208. (183.) Newell's request, March 8, 1776. "Amory Ana," vol. iii., p. 128. T. C. A.

Page 209. (184.) John Coffin's part in saving Quebec and Canada, January 1st, 1776. "Life of General John Coffin," by H. E. Coffin; Reading, Berks, 1880.—Letter from W. F. Coffin, Montreal, 1859. T. C. A.

Page 216. (185.) Tablet in St. Lawrence Jewry, April 11, 1777. copy by Mr. H. G. Somerby, 1865. T. C. A. The tablet was again seen, and the inscription kindly copied for us, in 1898, by the Rev. E. Winchester Donald, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church, Boston.

Page 217. (186.) Letter from John Coffin, November 3, 1779. T. C. A.

Page 239. (187.) Petition of John Amory, 1783. "Amory Ana," vol. ii., p. 125 (figures in ink). T. C. A.

CHAPTER XV.

Page 248. (188.) Letter from John Coffin, March 7, 1785. T. C. A.

Page 250. (189.) From Mrs. Thomas Amory, November 21, 1786. T. C. A. (190.) From John Coffin, February, 1787. T. C. A.

Page 251. (191.) From a Bostonian—Joshua Upham, 1788. T. C. A. (192.) William Amory in Boston, 1790. Account rendered, 1795, by Aaron Dexter and Jonathan Amory *tertius*, as guardians of William Amory. T. C. A.

Page 252. (193.) Letter from Jonathan Amory *tertius*, August 10, 1797. T. C. A. (194.) From William Deblois, August 11, 1797. T. C. A.

Page 255. (195.) Transferred his allegiance. Manuscript account of William Amory. T. C. A.

Page 256-7. (196.) Letter of Commodore Talbot, May 12, 1800. Copy in "Amory Ana," vol. iii., p. 113. T. C. A.

Page 258. (197.) From Sir Isaac Coffin, 1827. T. C. A. (198.) Ditto, 1817. T. C. A. (199.) Story of the Nantucket Schooner. This is told, if I am not mistaken, in the "Life of General John Coffin," which I have not just now at hand. See Ref. 184. A letter from Mr. Allen Coffin, dated Nantucket, January 7, 1886, alludes to it: "Sir Isaac . . . in reply to a question as to how much it cost him to found that school in Nantucket: 'It cost me an earldom, sir.' He was not made a peer of the realm because the Duke of Wellington thought his loyalty compromised by the establishment of a Yankee school for sailors." T. C. A.

Correction, p. 258. Since this page was printed I have met with a letter signed Emma F. Ware, and dated Milton, July 31, 1888, giving extracts from the diary of John Rowe: "'Sept. 1, 1772. I went to Mr. Inman's to see my dear Sukey Inman married to Captain John Linzee. The Revd. Mr. Walter performed the Ceremony. Present, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, George, Sukey, and Sally Inman, the Revd. Mr. Walter, Mrs. Walter, the Revd. Mr. Sargeant, Capt. Linzee, Mr. Robt. Gould, Mrs. Gould, John Inman, George Inman, Miss Polly and Miss Anna Murray, Miss Howard, Miss Hannah Speakman, myself and Mrs. Rowe.' This shows," the letter continues,

"that Captain Linzee was married at Mr. Inman's and not at Mr. Rowe's house. Also it is scarcely credible that if so distinguished a guest as Captain Hood had been present Mr. Rowe should have omitted to mention it, especially as he is so particular as to enumerate the bride and groom among the guests. See N. E. Hist. Gen. Register XXV. 46." T. C. A.

Page 259. (200.) Obligations to English creditors. A manuscript in probably a copyist's hand, giving a sketch of the lives of the three brothers, says of Jonathan and John: "At the commencement of the war the house owed their English creditors thirty thousand pounds sterling [*thirty* is erased and *twenty-three* substituted for it in Mr. T. C. Amory's writing] . . . their whole debt was remitted within three years." These last words, *within three years*, are erased, Mr. Amory putting instead *forthwith*. T. C. A. See, however, page 232, Letter CLXXI., July 16, 1782. (201.) Concert Hall, Drake, "History of Boston," p. 641. (202.) Manuscript as in Ref. 200. T. C. A.

Page 260. (203.) Prince Edward. Fragment of writing without date or signature, describing Nancy Geyer's as "my mother's" wedding, and calling Mr. Geyer "my grandfather." T. C. A. (204.) Marriage notice, 1793. Quoted by C. D. Hazen: "The French Revolution and American Opinion." (205.) Nathaniel Amory imprisoned, 1805. Incomplete manuscript account of him by Mr. T. C. Amory. It says that the imprisonment lasted two months. T. C. A. —I have been told that by the time he was released his hair had turned white.

Page 261. (206.) Letter from Nathaniel Amory, May 7, 1805. T. C. A.

Page 284. (207.) Letters from W. H. Turner, 1872-1875. T. C. A.

NOTES.

Chapter I. *Wrington*, 1605-1719.

Page 3. "Lived in Loxton." I have not seen the Loxton register. It begins in 1558.

Page 4. "My daughter-in-law, Mary Amory." Mary Willett—there are Willetts in the register from its beginning in 1538—was married at Wrington, February 5th, 1626-7 to John Amory, Hugh's elder son. They had six children: Mary, John, Elizabeth, Annis, Matthew, Sara. Mary was baptized November 27th, 1627. "Jonathan Wall of Cleeve [a village just outside of the Vale of Wrington,] and Mary Amory daughter of John Amory of this pish [parish], mercer, were married by ffran. Roberts, Rect^r^, at Buslington, alias Brislington, the 24^th^ of May ano. 1651." Their son, John Wall, baptized at Wrington in 1653. The second daughter, baptized June 26th, 1633, had died five months before Mary's wedding: "1650. Elizabeth Amory, daughter of John and Mary Amory dyed on the xxi^st^ day of December, & was buried on the xxxi^st^ of December." The churchwardens receive from "John Amory for the buriall of his daughter Elizabeth in y^e^ Church vi^s^ viii^d^." The third daughter, Annis, was baptized in 1635. In 1659, "John Plenty son of John Plenty of the parish of Yeatton & Anne Amory daughter of John Amory of this parish were marryed on the twentyfourth day of November." Sara was baptized in 1642; it is the only entry in regard to her. The eldest son, John, married Elizabeth, daughter of

Robert Talbot of Ilminster, and his wife Philippa, daughter of Richard Taylor. See at the Record Office two documents in a suit of the year 1653 against Elizabeth's brother for £300 left her by her father—"Chancery Bills and Answers before 1714, R. $\frac{13}{8}$ and $\frac{14}{5}$, Amory and Talbot." In 1653 the Bristol Common Council appointed either this John Amory or his father Lead-reeve in the city's manor of Congresbury (pronounced Congsbury or Coongsbury), near Wrington. John and Elizabeth had six children: the four sons mentioned on page 9; another son who died at a year old; and Mary, born in 1659, who in 1689 was married to Samuel Andrews of Wrington. Elizabeth died in May, 1682. In the preceding January (which on page 8, as I regret to see, I have called 1680-1: it should be 1681-2) died her father-in-law, John Amory, senior, his wife Mary having died in January, 1674-5. His son Matthew is in the burial register three days after him, and in the following March, Mary Wall, I suppose his eldest daughter. Jonathan Wall pays the tithe for Brean's with him in the Rector's tithe-book, 1676-1680. Matthew Amory was baptized in 1639. In the Prentice Book, September 29th, 1655, "Mathew Amory, sonne of John Amory of Wrington in the County of Som., Mercer, bound to Philipp Derney of the City of Bristol, Scrivener, for Eight Years." In 1663 Mathew Amory pays for one seat in Wrington Church and continues to do so to the end of the Churchwardens' book in 1675. The price, at first two shillings, is reduced in 1667 to one, "for the seate which he doe rent." Three of "the pish seats in hand to be lett out," are "betweene y^{t} of Robert Rowlands [the Schoolmaster and register] & wher Mathew Amory sitts." It does not appear that he ever married. The earliest occurrence of Emery in the register is the baptism in 1690 of Sarah, daughter of Isaac Emery; in 1695 Nathaniel Emmery marries Mary Catcott.

Hugh Amory was called "yeoman"; his son John, "mercer"; Thomas, first "woollendraper," then "Merchant." John's son in the Chancery suit of 1653 is "John Amory, Gentleman." Thomas's son is, in Lord Kerry's will, "Thomas Amorie, Merchant"; in a State Paper of 1666, "Squire Amory the Victualler"; in Foster's "Lists of

the Irish Parliament," "Thomas Amory Esq." (Here, by the way, his house of Garriearde is said to be at Bunratty; it was really at Galy.) His son, Thomas of Bunratty, calls himself in 1683 "Gentleman"; in Cary's complaint against him before the House of Commons he is "Thomas Amory Esq," and this is always the designation of his son who wrote "John Buncle." Gregory King's "Scheme of the Income and Expense of the several Families in England," made in 1688, estimates the number of esquires then existing as 3,000; gentlemen, 12,000; eminent merchants, 2,000; lesser merchants as many; freeholders of the better sort, 40,000; yeomen or freeholders of the lesser sort, 120,000; farmers, 150,000; shopkeepers and tradesmen, 50,000; artisans, 60,000; employed in the Civil Service, 10,000. There were no persons living, as so many live now, on small investments. The yearly income of the various classes was estimated as follows: An artisan, £38; farmer, £42; shopkeeper or tradesman, £45; yeoman, £55; freeholder of the better sort, £91; lesser merchant, £200; gentleman, £280; esquire, £450; eminent merchant, £4,000.

Page 5. "Ground which I have at Locking." The Locking registers before 1750 are said to have been destroyed for no reason about 1850.

"My Cozen Dorothy Plumley." The Manor of Locking belonged in 1632 to a Plomley, in whose family it remained until 1685, when John Plomley, Esq., forfeited it by joining the Duke of Monmouth's army. There were Backwells at Locking in 1607, named in a copy of the register for that year in the Diocesan Registry at Wells.

Page 7. "John Benett." The will, proved in 1641 (District Registry, Wells), of John Bennet of Wrington, leaves to a son-in-law, "all my instruments and books belonging to chirurgery except those made of silver"; to a son, "all the drugs and simples, waters, oiles and ointments that belong unto phisicke." Mentions "Mr John Luffe of Longford."

Page 8. "Accused as a rebel." A rather curious page in the Churchwardens' Accounts is "The Accompt of Edmonde Horte one of the Churchwardens from May 13, 1642 untill . . . 1644," entered by a scribe of the opposite political party. "Item, the said warden desireth to be allowed towards his chardge for goinge to Welles to the Kinges Commissioners there to undoe all his neighbors by informinge ag^{t} them for not setting their handes to the pretended peticon for peace and what Rebells they were that did refuse specially Mr Dollinge, John Amory and John Tilly, £1 „ 10 „ 0. Item more he desireth to be allowed for his chardges att 2 Visitations holden att Welles for his good service there and nothing done—14 shillings. Item to Walter Lawrence towards his wages w^{ch} is more than he paid him by Walter's accompt £3." Another warden, John Tilly, renders an account with the item: "More, layd out for my imprisonmt att Welles for not returning men's names of this parrish w^{ch} did refuse to subscribe to the pretended peticon for peace, 16 shillings." Nevertheless, he pays to the ringers "on the King's holy day," four shillings, and "when the Queene passed thorow the towne," three shillings and tenpence.

Chapter II. *Bristol*, 1624-1660.

Page 10. For the last three years of his term with Robert Elliott, Thomas Amory had for a fellow apprentice, Richard Russell (son of Paul Russell, late of the city of Hereford, "generosus"), who in 1636 married Maud Pitte—the Pitts were great merchants at Bristol—and going to New England by 1639, founded the Russell family of Charlestown, Massachusetts. Long after the ancestral association was forgotten, descendants of Russell and descendants of Amory became friends and cousins in the New World, Sarah and Elizabeth Russell marrying towards the end of the eighteenth century Richard and John Sullivan, whose sister, Hetty Sullivan, was the wife of Jonathan Amory *tertius*.

Page 16. "To hold their court daily at the Tolzey." A manuscript volume of Tolzey Court Actions for the year 1700, preserved

at the Bristol Museum and Library, contains a page of older writing, probably directions to the town crier:

"Make pc̃lamac̃on thrice, Saying O Yes, O Yes, O Yes. All manner of Persons that have anything to doe att the Co'rt of the Tolzey here holden in the old market before the aswell sheriffs of the Citty of Bristol as Bayliffs to the Major & Comonalty of the same citty, draw near and give your attendance.

"Make pc̃lamac̃on twice, Saying O Yes, O Yes. Essoigns & pſſors, Essoigns & pſſors, Essoigns & pſſors of [. . . *word illegible*] or Plea of any person will be essoigned or enter any plaint lett them come in and they shall be heard.

"Make pc̃lamac̃on once Saying O Yes. All manner of persons that doe owe anything [. . .] to this Court answer to your names as your call'd on paine of the peine that shall fall on default thereof.

"Tenants of the Bishop of Worcester, come in and [do] your ffree Suete & Services.

"And so of the rest of the Suitors."

Page 14. One of the early lords of the manor of Brislington built a Chapel dedicated to St. Anne in the wood where the northern end of the manor runs into a northward loop of the Avon. "Seint Ann's Ferye," says the sixteenth century traveller, Leland, "is about a Myle and a halfe above the Towne of Brightstowe" (*i.e.*, Bristol); and again: "Above Bristow was a comune Trajectus by Bote wher was Chapelle of S. Anne on the same side of Avon that Bath stondith on, and here was great pilgrimage to S. Anne." The last ruins of the Chapel disappeared only in the nineteenth century. Chemical works on the north bank of the Avon and Bristol's growth eastward on the south bank have lessened the charm of what is still, however, a pretty bit of country. Thomas Amory's property there, or most of it, has been of late in the possession of James Sinnott, Esq., of Bristol, who in 1898 began to build workmen's dwellings on part of it, presenting fifty acres of the rest to the city of Bristol as a public park. The new railway station for this is called St. Anne's.

Page 22. "Died at Dingle." The owner in 1660 of the Castles of Dingle—for it had two—was the Knight of Kerry, John Fitzgerald, whose wife was sister to Lord Kerry, and aunt, therefore, to the wife of Thomas Amory of Galy. Smith's "History of Kerry," written in the next century, describes Dingle as the only walled town in the county, "but at present a very inconsiderable place. . . . Several of the houses were built in the Spanish fashion, this place being formerly much frequented by ships of that nation, who traded with the inhabitants and came to fish on this coast: Most of them are of stone with marble door and window frames. . . . Many of them have dates on them as old as Queen Elizabeth's time and some earlier. . . . The town stands at the bottom of a small but safe harbour at the mouth of which large vessels may ride secure: the channel lies on the west side, and ships of one hundred tons may come up to the town. The entrance of the harbour was formerly defended by a small fort or block house. . . . The parish Church dedicated to St James is said to have been . . . built at the charge of the Spaniards. It was originally very large but most of the old structure is gone to ruin. . . . About five miles north of Dingle stands St Brandon's Hill . . . little if at all inferior to Mangerton and the Reeks, it being often covered with clouds when the tops of these others are clear. The foot of this mountain is washed by the sea on the north."

Page 22. "Garryard": the name of Thomas Amory's house at Galy.

Chapter III. *Ireland.*

Page 24. The Irish Parliament of 1661-1666, because the King had more claims made upon him than there was land in Ireland to satisfy, passed the Act of Settlement and Explanation, depriving Roman Catholics. It also, because the Somerset clothiers desired a monopoly of the cloth manufacture, began putting checks on the woollen industry recently brought into Ireland by the Protestant settlers. (*See* Lecky, "Eighteenth Century in Ireland.")

Page 24. To the Secretary of the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Carte Papers, vol. xxxv., p. 157, copied by Mr. W. H. Turner):

"S^r^

"The Rumo^rs^ of the ffrench Invasion and some Preparations making ag^t^ them, hath created some active thoughts in my flegmatique nature; How agreeable they may be to better Judgments I know not, but bec. they are cheape, easy & probable I shall expose them to His Grace Censure w^ch^ is Apointing some persons to prepare fire-ships in Kinsale Harbo^r^ (& the same may perhaps be thought fit for other harbo^rs^ also as Corke, Waterford, Galway &c). The manner of doing it I have desired my agent Capt. Crispin to specify in the inclosed paper, and I suppose he wilbe the fittest person yo^u^ can have for preparing & managing thereof wherein my Endeavo^rs^ shall not be wanting if His Grace comand it.

"I am of opinion Tis almost Impossible to faile of as much success as may be expected from an army of hand if the Navy Invade where my fire ships are: But I hope we are more afraid than Hurt, for though the french might doe us much mischeife yet I doe not find what advantage they can doe themselves, And I am unwilling to beleeve that the ffrench who would not accept or Trust the Irish when they offered the Kingdome to them, and when almost al the Kingdome was in their possession, I say I am unwilling to beleeve that the french will now Trust them when the Irish have not a Garrison to bestow on them: However Cures of Prevention are good, And if they do come I am confident they will bring so great an army as not to have any dependence on the Irish although question less They will make good use of them also.

"Mons. Chosin hath one ship 160 Tons still in Harbo^r^ & 500 bar^ls^ beefe in another vessell & both have beene along time ready to saile. Himselfe is enlisted & serves in the Soveraigne's Troope & of his own division when they watch; He keepes as many servants still, both french & Irish now, as he did when he slaughtered so much pro-

vision. And perhaps if order was given when the french fleete were in sight that search might be made by souldiers of y^e^ army not of y^e^ town militia Declarations might be found; for certainly so many faithful servants after such a Broken voiage speaketh that he hath some action for them. And what more than Intelligence, If the french designe Invasion I know not.

"I wish the Vice Adm^ll^ was ordered to superintend the frigats that come in, to keepe them at sea in company, whereby speedier notice may be given in case any fleet is discovered: I am now going for Kerry where I have not beene 11 dayes these 17 months & shal post thence If any com^ds^ follow mee: I am

"S^r^ Yo^r^ humble serv^t^

"Tho. Amory.

"Corke 17 Jan^ry^ 1666 [166⅚].

"Any ship that hath sailes to yard may be made a fire ship in 12 houres time, but they should laye at the Block house alwayes in a readiness.

[Directed:] "To the honb^le^ Sr George Lane Kt.
"Sec^ry^ to his Grace the Lord Lieut
"of Irelande
"for his maj^ty^ service
"present
"Dublin."

Page 25. "Merchants at Galway." Cromwell's soldiers, mechanics, etc., had been indiscriminately made free of the Corporation of Galway, the respectable natives and gentry being turned out of the town. On the Restoration these received promises, but no more: it was impossible so to overcome party-feeling and private animosities as to make effective restitution. The whole Corporation property had been mortgaged in aid of the royal cause, and not being redeemed now reverted to the Crown. Charles the Second bestowed it as a gift on one of his favourites. Against this the Lord Lieutenant (Capel)

protested. "Galway," he writes, "was once a considerable place of trade, and one of the principal strengths of the kingdom: it furnished all the province of Connaught (it being the only frequented port there) with foreign commodities; but now I hear the merchants are all leaving the place and the gentlemen of the country are forced to send as far as this city [Dublin] for those things whereof they used to be provided from thence." A certain Colonel Theodore Russell saved the town by buying its charter-market and petty duties from the royal favourite, out of his own private means; he was chosen Mayor, and retained the office until 1686. While John Amory was second Sheriff, the uproar in England over the pretended Popish Plot led to new rules in Ireland against Roman Catholics. They were forbidden to come into the market of Galway, and by-laws were made, declaring that several persons named (principally the ancient families of Galway) "are not fit to live in the towne or men useful to the garrison . . . that notice be given forthwith to all persons that are not free of the Corporation that they do not presume to trade by retail within the town either in shops or houses, or their goods shall be seized and sold." In spite of all this some natives were allowed to return quietly. Under James II. they regained possession of everything, and the Protestants were deported to a village outside the town until the Battle of the Boyne reversed things once more. John Amory after all these changes was living at Galway, an Alderman, in the reign of George I.

Page 25. Humphrey Jervis. See Sir John Gilbert's "Calendar of Ancient Records of the City of Dublin."

Page 25. "Prebendary of St Michaels'." One of the three prebends of Christ Church Cathedral; a small parish about five acres in extent, its church standing just west of the Cathedral. Dr. John Glendie, in 1674, exerted himself to get the church repaired.

Chapter V. *Bunratty*, 1677—1728.

Page 42. Sir Bernard Burke, in a note on the Amory pedigree which he sent from Dublin, observes that by a "Deed 26 Sept. 1712,

Henry Earl of Thomond conveyed to Thomas Amory the Castle of Bunratty, Key island, Reed island and Keybeg island, with free passage of coach out and through Bunratty to the town of Six Mile Bridge at the rent of £120 per annum and a Horse Soldier when required." A letter to someone in Ireland written about 1882 by Captain Richard Studdert (it is now among Mr. T. C. Amory's papers) says: "Thomas Amory purchased Bunratty from the Earl of Thomond in 1712 and was with his wife Elizabeth residing in the Castle in 1725 when he sold it to Thomas Studdert my great grandfather." It is said that Thomas Studdert gave him a mortgage upon it for £1,500. Carlyle mentions Bunratty Castle under the year 1649, in his "Letters of Cromwell."

Chapter VI. *The Azores*, 1706—1718.

Page 49. For Arthur Middleton, his ancestors and his descendants, see McCrady's "South Carolina." For the Middletons of Stockeld see Whitaker's "History of Craven."

Page 59. In the fourth line of this page, it is hardly necessary to say, for *Russia* read *Prussia*.

Page 94. Persons named in Thomas Amory's record: "Rev. Benjamin Colman, pastor of the Brattle Street Church, 1699-1747. Lord Lechmere's brother, Mr. Thomas Lechmere, Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Customs for the Northern District of America, died in 1765 "at an advanced age." Mr. James Smith, related to Landgrave Smith of Carolina, and to the wife of President John Adams, was a merchant, had sugar-works near the Brattle Street Church, and owned a country-house at Milton. Madam Luce: Mr. Peter Luce is often named in the Letter Books. Madam Guerrish: perhaps the wife of John Gerrish, one of the six men who together built Long Wharf in 1710. Drake mentions also Benjamin Gerrish, a founder of the new North Church in 1712; and Samuel Gerrish, town-clerk in 1734. John Barnes, chosen in September, 1722, Treasurer of the

Committee to receive subscriptions for the building of Christ Church, King's Chapel being overcrowded. He was also on the Committee which bought land in Summer Street in 1728 to build Trinity Church. MADAM MILES: the Rev. Samuel Myles was Rector of King's Chapel, 1689-1728. JOSHUA WERE, probably Wier or Wyer (rhyming with *here*). Timothy Newell had several nephews of this name, and the first wife of Jonathan Amory *tertius*, was Nancy Wyer. I find no mention of MR. JOB LEWIS.

CHAPTER XIII. *Boston*, 1776—1781.

Page 209. Gilbert Deblois's father and mother, Stephen Deblois and Ann Freely, both came from England in the man-of-war Seahorse, when it brought William Burnet to be Governor of New York. They were married at New York, February 6th, 1721. Stephen was born in St. Clement's parish, Oxford, where the register shows that he was baptized July 21st, 1700. His father Louis De Blois was perhaps one of the Protestants who left France on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. "Mary Dubois, daughter of Luis Dubois" is baptized at St. Clement's, October 25th, 1688; "William Deblois, the son of Lewis Deblois," February 17th, 1689-90; then Abraham, another Lewis, and on the 22nd of June, 1698, Constance. "Martha Deblois, the wife of Lewis Deblois was buryed June 24, 1698." Stephen was the first of seven children by a second marriage; the res were Francis, another Francis, Samuel, Secundus, Lezee and Jane Their mother's name is not given. A volume of Churchwarden's Accounts beginning in 1721 shows from 1723 to 1733 "Lewis Deblois," or "Mr Deblois," paying two or three shillings a year to the poor rate. In June, 1739, the register gives the burial of "Mr Deblois." Stephen had two sons and a daughter, all of whom were married in Boston—Sarah to William Wallace, Lewis to Eliza Jenkins. A page of eighteenth-century writing in Mr. T. C. Amory's collection begins with: "Gilbert Deblois, born in New York, North America, March 17th 1725, and was married to Ann Coffin, daughter of William

Coffin in Boston N.E. (aged 19 years) on Saturday, Feb^{y} . . . 1651." Gilbert and Ann had sixteen children whose names follow in the record. Seven of the ten sons grew up, and one daughter, the beautiful Betsy Deblois. A most excellent match was arranged between Betsy and Mr. Martin Brimmer, but for some reason—probably connected with the Revolution—it lost Mrs. Deblois's favour, and when the banns were published in church, she stood up and forbade them. Mr. Brimmer thereupon brought in the evening a loaded hay cart under Betsy's window—it was at the corner of Bromfield and Tremont Streets—that he might take her to church and be married without more ado. As she was preparing to step down on the hay her mother came into the room, threw her arms round her, and sent for a carpenter to nail up the window. The man came, but declined the job: he "could not do it to such a beautiful young lady." The romance, however, was there cut short, and Betsy spent the rest of a long life in taking care of her mother, and of her brothers' sons and daughters. Mr. Brimmer married someone else. The Genealogical Register many years ago printed a letter written to Mrs. Knox in 1777 by Benedict Arnold, enclosing a letter "to the heavenly Miss Deblois," and hoping for "favorable intelligence" of her through Mrs. Knox and "the charming Mrs Emery," who was no doubt Mrs. Deblois's sister Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Amory. A young brother of Betsy's, born in 1767 writes to his friend, James Cutler; "London, 45 Hatton Street. Dec^{r} 1782.—I had the pleas^{r}, my Dear James, of receiving your kind Letter of 20th Oct. . . . I am happy to hear of the safe arrival of the Apollo as I was so fortunate as to write a few lines to Mama, by w^{ch} she was inform'd of my being arriv'd in Amsterdam where I remained 9 weeks. Indeed, my Dear James, I never once regretted leaving home (although I have been in imminent danger) notwithstandg w^{ch} I have not seen any Place that I shou'd prefer spending my Days in, than Boston. . . . I had the happiness of finding my Father & Brothers in good Health. . . . I have nothing new to communicate, save that there is great talk of Peace w^{ch} that it may soon arrive is the sincere wish of your Friend J^{no}. V. S. Deblois." Another

brother, Stephen, married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Amory.

Chapter XV. *Family Letters*, 1785-1805.

Page 259. "John's was the next house." Rufus Greene's house certainly belonged to John Amory, for he disposes of it in his will made in 1796; but he says, at the same time, that it is occupied by his son John.

Chapter XVI. *Of Heraldry.*

Page 264. "Daughter of FitzMaurice, Earl of Kerry." The father of Mrs. Amory of Galy held the rank of a baron. Her nephew, the 21st baron, was created Earl of Kerry.

Chapter XVII. *Other Amory Families.*

Page 314. Robtus Amorye, 1570. This is in the Somerset Subsidy, 13 Elizabeth; Hundred of Wells Forum. Southover is one of the four verderies or wards of the city of Wells, and is in the parish of St. Cuthbert's, where the register (which I have not seen) begins in 1608. Until a few years ago this parish included the whole of Wells, except the extra-parochial Township or Liberty of St. Andrew's, *i.e.*, the Cathedral and its Close.

Omissions: *In List of Authorities. Ref.* 118: Letter XI., p. 57, is a copy made from the Letter Books by Mr. T. C. Amory's copyist about 1865. *Ref.* 200: See also page 246, Letter CLXXXIV., Nov. 28, 1785.—*In Notes, Chapter VI.:* Page 50, Letter III. is really dated 1711, not 1706.

A LIST OF PORTRAITS.

Made by Mr. T. C. Amory about 1865. *Revised in* 1898.

I. Thomas Amory, b. Dublin, 1682; d. Boston, 1728.

Brown eyes, blue cloak, many-folded white neckcloth, gray wig with curls flowing to the shoulder. Own hair reddish brown, visible at temple. *See* Letter of July 6th, 1719, page 69: "have cutt off my own hair since have been at Boston." He had, however, bought a periwig in 1712. Original of this picture lost, perhaps in the fire of 1787, which destroyed the house of his son Thomas. There exist now:

1. A copy in crayons, made before 1787 (Mr. T. C. Amory thought, by Copley). *Owner, Miss Maria P. Codman, Bristol, R.I.*

*2. A copy of the above copy, made in crayons for Mr. T. C. Amory by Richard M. Staigg between 1840 and 1868. *Mr. Arthur Amory, Marlborough Street, Boston.*

II. Thomas Amory, b. Boston, 1722; d. 1784.

Two portraits. 1. By Blackburn, 1760. *Mrs. Channing Clapp, Beacon Street, Boston.*

*2. By Copley, before the Revolution. *Mr. Arthur Amory.*

A copy of this, made for Mr. William D. Sohier by Otis, 1853. *Miss Elizabeth D. Sohier, Beacon Street, Boston.*

III. Mrs. Thomas Amory (Elizabeth Coffin), wife of the above, b. Boston, 1741; d. 1822.

Two portraits. 1. By Copley, who, going to England in June, 1774, left it unfinished on his easel. *Mrs. Theodore Metcalf, Brookline, Massachusetts.*

*2. By Gilbert Stuart. *Mr. William Amory, Beacon Street, Boston.*

[I am told, also, of portraits of "Thomas Amory and his wife, by Copley," owned by Miss Maria P. Codman, Bristol, R.I.]

*IV. Thomas Coffin Amory, b. Boston, 1767; d. 1812. By Gilbert Stuart. *Mr. William Amory.*

V. Mrs. Thomas Coffin Amory (Hannah Rowe Linzee), wife of the above, b. 1775; d. 1845.

Two portraits, one before her marriage, one after.

VI. Mrs. Jonathan Amory (Mehetable Sullivan), b. Saco, Maine, 1772; d. Boston, 1847.

Four portraits. 1. Miniature, companion to that of Thomas Graves Russell, to whom she was engaged and who died 1787. *Mr. Harcourt Amory, Beacon Street, Boston.*

2. By Gambadella, about 1845. *Owned by the Miss Merediths, and stored in care of Mr. J. Morris Meredith, Boston.*

3. By R. M. Staigg, painted later than 1847, from the Gambadella and from sketches by her daughter, Isabella Lennox Amory. *Mr. Arthur Amory.*

4. A cameo, cut by John C. King. *The Miss Merediths.*

VII. William Amory, b. Boston, 1774; d. 1808.

A miniature (Mr. T. C. Amory thought by Malbone). Blue eyes, powdered hair, white neckcloth, dark blue coat. *The Miss Merediths.*

VIII. Nathaniel Amory, b. 1777; d. 1842.

Three portraits. 1. As a young man. By Henry Sargent. *Mr. Arthur Amory.*

2. By his friend Washington Allston. *Owner perhaps Mrs. D. J. Curtis or Miss Wormeley, nieces of Mrs. Nathaniel Amory.*

3. A miniature. As an old man. (Mr. T. C. Amory said by R. M. Staigg.) *The Miss Merediths.*

IX. Stephen Deblois, grandson of William and Ann (Holmes) Coffin, b. 1764; d. 1850.
By S. W. Flagg, 1839. *Dr. Thomas Amory Deblois, Gloucester Street, Boston.*

X. John Amory, b. Boston, 1728; d. 1803.
By Copley, 1768. *Miss M. P. Codman, Bristol, R.I.*

XI. Mrs. John Amory (Katherine Greene), wife of the above, b. Boston, 1731; d. London, 1777.
Miss M. P. Codman.

According to Mr. T. C. Amory's list there were portraits of all John Amory's six sons, and of their wives, but by whom painted or now owned is not said.

INDEX.

Abbot, Charles, 142.
Abotisham, 315.
Act of Proscription and Banishment, 217.
Act of Settlement and Explanation, 339.
Adams, John, President, 256, 343.
Adams, Samuel, 121, 166, 180.
Adet, M., 252, 253.
Albany, 317.
Allein, 84.
America, 121-258, 317, 343. Americans, 137-260.
Amfridus, 294.
Amiel, Mrs. and Miss, 113.
Amory:
Æthelmaer, 287, 290. Ailmer, 287, 290. Ailmerus, 287. Aimery, 283. Aimori, Alicie relicte, 292.
de Almari, Gilbert, 291. Robert, 299. Almaric, 286. Almarici, Radulphus filius, 289. de Almarico, Rog., 301. Almaricus, 291. Almaricus, John the son of, 291.
Almeric, 286. Almerich, 286. Almerici, Robertus filius, 288-290, 294; Yvice his wife, 294; William, Robert, Ralph, and Henry, his sons, 294. Almericus, 288. Almerigo, 286. Almery, 312.
de Amalri, Rob., 299. Amalric, son of Ralph, 295. Amalric, Robert the son of, 294. Amalrich, 286. Amalricus, Ralph the son of, 295.
Amare, John, 291. Amari, Andrew, 292. de Amari, Gilbert, 291; Rob., 299; Rogero, 288, 298. Amarici, Roberto filio, 296. Amarico, 292; Andrea filio ejus, 292.
Amary, Gilbert, 311; Ralph the son of Robert the son of, 295; Ralph the son of, 295; Amabilia wife of Ralph, 295; Ricardus filius Roberti, 288; Richard, 303; Robert, 303.
Amauri, 286, 289; Andree fil', 292; Ralph the son of, 296; Robert son of Ralph son of, 296; Rogerus, 301.
Amauricius, 287, 294, 295; of Cowley, 292; Funeholt his wife, 292.
Amere *als* Prier, James, 313. Amere, John, 312; William, 312. Amerey, Edward, 314; George, 314; John, 270, 311, 313-315. d'Ameri, Gilbert, 291. Americo, 286.

Amory—*continued.*
Americus, 287. Amerie, Alice, 315; Anton, 269; George, 269; Henry, 315, John, 315, Richard, 315, William, 315. Amerik, Ricardo, 312.
Amery, 283; Anne, 315; Edmund, 313; Gabriel, 315; John, 315; Jonathan, 314; Philip, 315; Ralph, 314, 315; Richard, 313-315; Salathiel, 315; Thomas, 314, 315; William, 314, 315.
Amerye, Hugh, 314, 318; Thomas, 314, 318; John, 312. Ammery, Hugh, 316; Richard, 316. Ammori, William, 292. Ammory, Gilbert, 311.
Amore, Elizabeth, 313; Henry, 313; Isabell, 279; James, 312; Joan, 313; John, 311-313; Thomas, 279, 313; William, 313.
Amori, Galfrid or Geoffrey, 292; Juliana his wife, 292; William, 292.
Amorie, 288; Anthonie, 269; Anthony, 270; George, 269; Thomas, 23, 335.
Amory, 250, 264, 271, 286, 287, 289; Abigail (Taylor), 110, 228; Agnes (Young), 3, 6, 318; Agnes, Annis or Anne (m. Plenty), 5, 334; Ann (Elliott), 4, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 22, 25; Ann (m. Chappell), 14, 22, 99; Anne, dau. of Jonathan and Martha, 35, 37; Anthony, 269, 271;
Benjamin, 317; Charles, 110, Christopher, 315;
Elizabeth (Coffin), 109, 110, 175, 181, 218, 238, 248, 250, 251, 262, 345; (m. Coynes), 14, 22; (m. Deblois), 346; (Durroy), 45, 103; (Fitzmaurice), 23, 42, 346; dau. of John and Mary, 5, 334; (Talbot), 9, 334, 335; elder dau. of Thomas and Ann, 14, 22; dau. of Thomas of Galy, 42; (Vandaleur), 104, 263; *Pronounced* Emory, 287;
Francis, 262; Giles, 314; Henry, 15, 24, 25, 315;
Hugh, 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 266, 274, 275, 277, 311, 318, 334, 335; son of Hugh and Agnes, 2; of Stogumber, 315; son of Thomas and Ann, 14, 18, 24; son of John and Mary, 9, 316;
Isaac, 97, 98; James, 316, 318; James H., 316; James Sullivan, 110; Joan, 315;
John, Captain, 317; of Chapel, Bishop's Nymet, 269-271; Colonel, 318; son of Hugh and Agnes, 3-5, 7-9, 334, 335, 337, 342; son of John and Elizabeth, 9, 316; son of John and Katherine, 212, 222-224, 231, 262, 346; of John and Mary, 8, 9, 334, 335; of Leicestershire, 312; of Malden, Essex, 291; of Stogumber, 315; of Taunton, 87, 89, 278; son of Thomas and Ann, 14, 15, 25, 44, 71, 88, 97, 99, 101, 103-105, 274, 275; son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Coffin), 262; son of Thomas and Rebecca, 95, 110, 118-120, 123, 127, 141, 157, 163, 192, 203-207, 213, 216, 217, 227, 229-232, 238, 239, 245, 249, 250, 252, 259, 262, 346; of Thorpe, 311.

Amory—*continued.*
Jonathan son of Jonathan *tertius* and Mehetable, 239; and John, merchants, 110, 118, 123-247, 168, 175, 236; son of John and Katherine, 212, 262; son of Thomas and Ann, 15, 24-28, 31-42, 44-46, 73, 88, 94, 97, 98, 102, 273, 278; *tertius*, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Coffin), 118, 252, 255, 258, 261, 262, 344; son of Thomas and Rebecca, 94, 109-111, 118, 120, 123, 127, 141, 203, 208, 210, 211, 213, 219, 226, 227, 236, 244, 259;
Judith, 27, 28, 34, 35;
Katherine (Greene), 110, 164, 165, 203, 204, 216, 217; dau. of John and Katherine, 230; Lucy, dau. of Thomas of Galy, 42; (m. Mc Mahon), 104, 111, 112, 114, 117;
Major, 114, 115; Martha, wife of Jonathan, 28, 36, 37, 278, 279;
Mary (m. Andrews), 9, 335; (m. Hoskins, 15, 22, 71, 101; (m. Newell), 94, 101, 102; *als.* Nicholas, 315; wife of Simon, 317; (m. Wall), 5, 334, 335; (Willett), 4, 334, 335;
Mathew, 9, 334, 335; Mehetable (Sullivan), 261, 338; Mrs., of Charleston, 98, 273; Mrs., of Roxbury (Elizabeth Bowen), 278, 279;
Nathaniel, 118, 257, 260-262, 277;
Rachel, 315; Ralph, 314;
Rebecca, dau. of John and Katherine, 230; (Holmes), 91-95, 100, 102, 103, 105-107, 167, 168; (widow of Houston), 26-29, 94, 102; (m. Payne), 94, 101, 102, 250;
Richard, 311, 316; son of Anthony, 269.
de Amory, Richard, 291, 292, 299, 304; Robert, 295, 299, 300.
Amory, Robert, of Bishop's Nymet, 314; of Chester, 313; (family now of Clifton), 316; of Ilminster, 315; son of Jonathan and Martha, 35, 37; elder son of John and Elizabeth, 9; younger son of John and Elizabeth, 9, 316; son of Thomas and Ann, 14, 15, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 43, 44, 51, 88, 100, 104, 105, 274; of Wakefield, 46, 108, 116, 263-266.
de Amory, Roger, 292, 293, 298, 300, 301, 305.
Amory, Rufus Greene, 212, 230, 231, 249, 250, 259;
Samuel, 89, as "Mr. Amory in London," 116; Sara, 334; Sarah (m. Middleton), 28, 34, 37, 49, 51, 66, 67, 73, 81, 82, 99; Simon, 87, 89, 317.
Amorys and Taylor, 164, 168, 170, 210, 212.
Amorys, Taylor and Rogers, 171, 188, 210, 214, 236.
Amory, Thomas, of Bishop's Nymet, 314; of Bunratty, 27, 42-46, 50, 62, 65, 70, 88, 94, 97, 99-101, 104-106, 115, 263, 265, 266, 336, 343; of Chester, 313; of Galy, 4, 18, 21-24, 88, 106, 117, 118, 280, 313, 335, 338, 339, 341; son of Hugh and Agnes, 2, 4, 10-22, 88, 313, 337; son of Jonathan and Rebecca, 27, 28, 34, 35, 37, 42, 45-107, 111, 112, 117, 118, 273, 278, 343;

Amory—*continued.*
of Rathlahine, 104, 106-108, 111, 113, 114, 117, 263, 265, 287, 336; Vicar of St. Teath by Camelford, 283, 315; son of Thomas and Rebecca, 94, 102, 109-113, 140, 141, 167, 204, 208, 209, 221, 238, 262, 317;
Thomas Coffin, son of Jonathan and Mehetable, 28, 45, 90, 93, 98, 103, 109, 118, 127, 167, 208, 239, 251, 266, 273, 275-280, 315, 316, 318, 343, 344; son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Coffin), 253, 258, 262, 277; son of Thomas Coffin and Hannah, 114, 118;
Walter, 316;
William, son of, 294; of Chapel, Bishop's Nymet, 269, 270; of Deerfield, Mass., 317; of Dunster, 312; son of John (of Chapel), 270; son of John and Elizabeth, 9; son of John and Katherine, 212, 228, 262; of St. Kitts, 317; of Stogumber, 315; son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Coffin), 251, 252, 255-257.
d'Amorye, Foulke, 280.
Amorye, George, 271, 314; Richard, 315; Robert, 315; Robtus, 314, 346; William, 314.
de Aumari, Gilbertus, 291; Henrico filio Roberti filio, 288; Ricardo, 303.
Aumari, Roberto filio, 296, 299.
de Aumari, Roberto, 299; Robertus, 298; Rogero, 298, 302.
Aumaric, Ralph, 296; Robert, the son of Ralph, 288.
de Aumary, Radulfo, 301; Rogero, 298.
Aumary, Robert, 296, 298; of Aumary, Roger, 297.
de Aumeri, Roger, 301; of Aumery, Hadewyse wife of Roger, 298, Raph, 297; Robert, 297, 298; Robert, Raph and Richard, sons of Roger, 298; Aumery, Robert, 297.
de Aumori, Richard, 303; Roger, 303.
Aymar, 287.
Dalmorey, Richard, 304.
Damare, Nicholas, 308, 310. Damari, 289; Ricardus, 303; Roberto, 300. Damars or Amorie near Caen, 288. Dambemare, 287.
Damer, Joseph, 43, 44, 263, 265, 267, 268, 271, 272, 287, 313; John, 268, 289.
D'Amerie, John, 270. D'Amerey, George, 270. Damerey, John, 268, 270, 313. Dammary, John, 311; Richard, 303; Walter, 310.
Dammor, Rogero, 302. Dammory, Margaret, 304, 305, 309; Nicholas, 286, 310; Richard, 304, 305; Roger, 306.
Damori, Ricardus, 302. D'Amorie, 288; Giles, 268, 274. Damorie, Nicholas, 304. Damoroy, Robert, Thomas and William, 312.
D'Amory, 288, 289; Agnes, 308; Richard, 308, 309; Robert, 293; Rogerus, 302. Damory, Elizabeth (m. Bardolf), 307; Nicholas, 310; Richard, 286, 304, 313; Roger, 286, 304, 305, 307; Damry, 288, 289.
D'Aumari, Ricardus, 298; Roberto, 299. Daumari, Alice, 291; Galfrid, 291; Radulfo, 295; Ricardo, 295; Richard, 311; Roberto, 300.

Amory—*continued.*
Daumere, Richard, 311. Daumery, Katherine, 304, Robert, 304. D'Aumory, Katherine, 282, Robert, 282. Dawmory, Christopher, 281, Elizabeth, 281.
Emery, 98, 283, 287, 316, 335, 345. Emmerich, 286. Emmery, 287, 335. Emory, 107, 283, 287, 316. Ethelmarus, 287.
Haimerius, 287. Hamon, 286.
Amsterdam, 58, 59, 176, 218, 231, 345.
Amy, Thomas, 45.
Andrews, Samuel, of London, 89; of Wrington, 335.
Andros, Sir Edmund, 80.
Angra, 47, 49, 50, 52-56, 59, 61, 62, 273.
Anjou, Philip of, 50.
Ansley, 171, 173, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 201.
Antigua, 24, 44, 88, 97, 101, 104, 210, 317.
Antt, Joseph, 169, 201.
"Apollo," the, 345.
Apthorp, Rev. Charles, 120; Mr., 132.
Aquitaine, 308.
Aragon, 50.
Archdale, John, 31-33.
Ardfert, 24.
Arnold, Benedict, 345.
Asherney or Ashregney, 281.
Aston, Matthew and Thomas, 176; Thomas, 169.
Atkinson and Campbell, 132.
Auchincloss, 169; and Lang, 201.
Auchmuty, Robert, 105.
de Audele, Hugh, 306.
Austin, James Trecothick, 116.
Austin Key (Quay), Dublin, 111.
Austria, Charles, Archduke of, 50.
Avery, 252.
Ayer, Margery, 271, 314.
Ayscough, John, 280; Ayscue, Sir George, 280.
Azores, 47, 49, 54, 88, 97, 273, 343.

"Bacchus," the, 70.
Back Bay, the, 113.
Backford, 314.
Backhall, the, Bristol, 19.
Backwell, 336; Dorothy, 5; Hanna, 5; Henry, 5-8; Henry, junior, 5; Joane (Luffe), 6, 7; John, 5.
Badlesmere, Bartholomew, Lord of, 307.
Bahamas, 36, 85.
Bainton, 305.
Baker, Ehedeth, 6; John, admiral, 54, 56; William, 6.
Balchin, Peter, and Co., 181.
Ballan Street, Bristol, 17.
Ballentine, Lientenant-Colonel, 90.
Ballyboneene, 24.
Baltic, 62.
Bannockburn, 306.
Banwell, 3.
Barbadoes, 28, 29, 102, 280.
Barcelona, 50.
Bardolf, Thomas, Lord, 307; Elizabeth (Damory), 307.
Barkeby, 311.
Barker, Josiah, and Co., 171.
Barlow, Captain, 87.
Barnard, William, and Son, 169; and Harrison, 131, 133, 137.
Barnes, John, 94, 343; Madam, 95.
Barnsfare, 209.
Barnstable, Devon, 89.

Barrell, Joseph, 210, 214; Theodore, 215, 216; Walter, 215; William, 210, 212-216.
Barrington, 233.
Bartlett, Captain, 135, 160.
Basset, Gilbert, 298; (Thomas), 299.
Bath, 4, 8, 14.
Battle Abbey, 288, 289.
Bayley, 142.
Beach Hill, 90.
Beacon Street, 120.
Bean, Samuel, 209.
Bear Swamp, 38.
Beauchamp, de, Roger and Sibilla, 309.
Beaudart de St. James, 222.
Bedfordshire, 298.
Bedford Square, 317.
Beeman, Joseph, 211.
Belcher, Jonathan, 68, 109.
Bell, Captain, 134.
Benett or Bennet, John, 7, 336.
Berkeley County, S. C., 31.
Berkshire County, Mass., 233.
Bernard, Governor, 113, 121, 122, 125, 138.
Berquien, le, 48.
Berwick, 306.
Bew, 107, 112; Jane, 105, 112; John, 112; Thomas, 105.
Bicester, 309.
Bicknoller, 315.
Binker, Jene, 27.
Bird, Robert, 151; and Smith, 129.
Bishop's Nymet (now Nympton), 269-271, 314, 315, 318.
Bixbrind, 305; Bix Gibwyn, 305.
Blacker, Thomas Hart *als*, 20.
Blanchard, Caleb, 236.
Blechesdon or Blechingdon, 290, 292, 293, 296, 299, 300, 304, 305, 307, 309, 310.
Blind Lane, 249.
Blue Anchor Tavern, 90.
Bodeclyve, 311.
Bodleian Library, 284, 285, 297.
Bohun, Edmund, 36.
Bold, 62, 63.
Bonee, John, 40.
Bonney, Captain, 138.
Bonvile, George, 20.
Bordeaux, 17, 252, 253.
Boston, 50-287, 317, 345; Gazette, 119; Port Bill, 180, 182, 183; Transcript, 89.
Bourdieu and Chollet, 185.
Boutell, 282.
Bovett (Richard), 8.
Bow Church, 172.
Bowdoin, James, 118.
Bowen, John, 17.
Bower, Benjamin and John, 168, 199.
Boyle (Michael), Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 23, 26.
Boylston, Dr., 95.
Boyne, the, 342.
Brattle Street Church, 91, 110, 167, 343; Brattle, Thomas, 217, 224, 225.
Bray, Dr., 40.
Brazer's Building, 94, 119.
Brazil, 50, 53, 54, 56, 59, 60, 62.
Bread Street, London, 169, 176.
Brean's, 8, 335.
Brett, Captain, 146; Dowling, Brett, and Hardingham, 169, 174, 185.
Brice, Wheler, and Higginson, 155.
Brimmer, Martin, 345.

Brindley, 218.
Brislington, Briselton, Busselton, 14, 20, 21, 23, 104, 106, 316, 334, 338.
Bristol, Brightstowe, Bristow, 10-22, 45, 47, 48, 52, 79, 88, 107, 124, 128, 140, 165, 169, 204, 313, 316, 318, 335, 337, 338; Bristol Back, 15; Museum and Library, 338.
Britain, 58, 153.
Britwell, 290, 291.
Bromfield Street, Boston, 345.
Broughton, Charles, 151.
Brown, Captain, 187, 204, 221.
Bruce, Captain, 155, 156.
Brussels, 217, 221, 225, 230, 236, 238.
Brutessayshe, 312.
Brutos, 41.
Bucknell, 290, 293, 299, 300-305, 309, 310.
Buckinghamshire, 285, 291, 299, 300, 301, 304, 305.
Bullingdon, 309.
"Bumper," the, 90.
Bunch of Grapes Tavern, 89-91, 93, 119.
"Buncle, John," 107, 108, 118, 263.
Bunratty Castle, 42, 44, 101, 104, 343; town of, 45, 343; Thomas Amory of, 42-46, 50, 52, 62, 65, 70, 88, 93, 94, 97, 99-101, 104-106, 342.
Burgess-Book, 10, 11.
Burgh, de, 306, 308.
Burke, Edmund, 126, 137, 138, 170; Sir J. Bernard, 45, 266, 267, 277, 280, 288, 342.
Burnet, William, 344.
Burrington, 2, 9, 303, 312.
Burton, Alexander de, 298; Emma, 298.
Burton, E. W., 113.
Butler, John, 152.
Buxton and Enderby, 176.

Cæsar, 39.
Caen, 288.
Calef or Calfe, Captain, 142, 143, 183.
Cales, 55, 58.
Callahan, Captain, 171, 172, 182, 183, 200, 204.
Calthorp, 306.
Camvill, Richard de, 296.
Cambridge, 7; Cambridge, Mass., 202.
Campbell (Atkinson and Campbell), 132; Colin, 229; Mr., 79.
Canada, 191, 209, 251, 267, 318; Canada Bill, 191, 199; Canadians, 191.
Canaries, the, 26.
Canm, John, 172.
Canterbury, 310.
Cape Cod, 175, 176, 257?
Capel (William), 2; Arthur, Earl of Essex, 25, 341.
Carleton, Sir Guy, 267.
Carlisle, 304.
Carlyle (Thomas), 343.
Carnew, Captain, 219.
Carolina, 28, 30, 32, 36, 45, 51, 53, 54, 64, 65, 343.
Carpenter, Nathan, Captain, 219.
Cartwright, Captain, 124.
Cary (John), 336.
Casco, Maine, 89.
Castle Street, Boston, 95, 109; Castle, the, Boston Harbour, 121, 122, 165.
Catherine, Queen, 24.
Cerberus, the, 205.

Ceylon, 115.
Chadlington, 312.
Chadwell, Captain, 164.
Chancery, 3, 14, 17, 20, 45, 106.
Chandler, Judge, 199; Rufus, 199.
Chandos, 309, 310.
Channell, Cicely, 280; Robert, 279.
Chapel, Bishop's Nymet, 268, 270, 271.
Chappell, Ann (Amory), 22, 99.
Charles. See King.
Charleston, S. C., 28, 30, 32, 34-36, 39, 40, 61, 64, 69, 70, 72, 74-76, 78, 80, 85, 89, 90, 98, 100, 273, 279.
Charlestown, Mass., 318, 338.
Charlton, 299.
"Chatham," the, 231.
Checkley's Meeting House, 249.
Cheshire, 285, 313.
Chester, 308, 313, 314.
Chesterton, 288, 290, 294, 296, 299, 302, 310.
Chetwood, 302.
Chicago, 262.
China, 62.
Chinnock, West, 311.
Chollet, 185.
Chosin, 340.
Chouvet, 238.
Christ Church, Boston, 344; Dublin, 27, 44, 94, 342; Oxford, 282, 284.
Clare College, 308. Clare, County, 45, 104. de Clare, Elizabeth, 286, 306, 308, 310; Gilbert, 281, 306. Clare, Viscount, 43.
Clarence, Duke of, 258.
Clark, Captain, 97; Elizabeth, 105; Mary, 101, 274.
Cleeve, 334.
"Cleopatra," the, 143.
Clerke, John, 274.
Cleveland, Duchess of, 288.
Cleves, Anne of, 313.
Clifton, 316.
Clowters, 38, 39.
Clyvedon, Matthew de, 308, 309.
Coates, John, Samuel, and Thomas, 132, 141.
Cock, Catherine, 169; John, 169; Captain Richard, 39.
Cockfylde, Agnes, 280.
Codman (John), Captain, 251; Henry, 118; Richard, 253, 254.
Coffin, Ann (Holmes), 109, 203; Anne (m. Deblois), 209, 344; Caleb, 144; Damaris (Gayer), 91, 110; Elizabeth (m. Amory), 109, 248, 262, 317; Isaac, Admiral, 91, 251, 258, 259; John, General, 91; John of Quebec, 110, 144, 209, 217, 218, 248, 250; John, son of William and Mary (Aston), 175; Mary (Aston), called "Sister Coffin," "Molly," "Mrs.," 217, 218, 250; Mrs. (Isabella Child), 218; Nathaniel of Nantucket, 91, 110; son of William and Ann, 110, 181, 203, 209, 218, 250; Thomas Aston, 91; William, son of Nathaniel and Damaris, 91, 95, 103, 109, 203, 345; son of William and Ann, 110, 203, 209.
Cokin, Sir William, 308.
Colchester, 212.
Coldron Mill, 312.
Cole, Captain, 152.
Colepeper, 18.

College, of Arms, 275, 277, 280, 281, 283, 287; of Heralds, 267, 268, 274; College of Arms, Dublin, 280; College Green, 318.
Colleton, Governor, 30.
Collins, author of "Peerage," 267, 268; Mr., 210-213, 215; Ezra, 211.
Collinson (pron. Collison), author of "History of Somersetshire," 98, 269, 304.
Colman, Rev. Benjamin, 94, 343.
Colmer, Mary, 269.
Columbia, S. C., 273.
Commissary of the Bishop of London (Dr. Bray), 40; (Mr. Price), 90.
Common, the, Boston, 147, 190.
Common Council (Bristol), 13, 15, 19; (Galway), 25.
Commons of America, 234; of Old England, 234.
Compton, Captain Ellis, 111.
Concert Hall, 259.
Congresbury, 335.
Congress of the United States, 230, 231.
Congress Street, 93, 119.
Connaught, 342.
Connecticut, 193, 240, 244.
Connor, Fitzm., 229.
"Constitution," the, 256.
Cooper, Dr., 167, 236.
Copley, John Singleton, 163.
Corfe, 306.
Cork, 217, 340, 341.
Cormick, Captain, U.S. N., 256, 257.
Corn Hill, Boston, 221.
Cornwall, County of, 315; Earl of, 301, 303.
Cornwallis, Lord, 227.
Cottrell, 14, 43.
Courand, 59.
Cowley, 292.
Cowpen, 38, 39.
Coynes, or Connies, 22; Samuel, 105.
Cranford, de, 302.
Creagh, Ann Thompson, *als.*, 105.
Cressewell, 295.
"Creighton," the, 210.
Cripplegate, 315.
Crispin, Captain, 24, 340; Milo, 291.
Croker, Mrs. (Elizabeth Amory), 42.
Crokern Pill, 303, 305.
Cromwell, Oliver, 16, 18, 280, 341.
Crooke, Samuel, 4, 7, 8.
Croskeys, John, 34, 76; Joseph, 33, 34, 76; Margaret, 34.
Crowfield Hall, Suffolk, 129.
Cubid, 41.
Culm Stock, 315.
Culpeper, Cullpep, 17.
Cumming, 38.
Cutler, James, 345.

Dabadie, 217.
Dalcho, 98.
Dale, William, 3.
Dallarde, 253.
Dalrymple, Colonel, 166.
Damer, Joseph and John. See under Amory.
"Dartmouth," the, 175.
Davies, Captain, 145.
Davis, Captain, 69, 188; Thomas, 181.
Davison, Captain, 202.
Dawlin, Ellison, 27.
Dawson (Rayner, Dawson and Co.), 132, 143, 149.
Deblois, Ann (Coffin), 209; George, 236; Gilbert, 136, 209, 214, 218,

252, 259; Lewis, 249, 259; Stephen, 253, 259; William, 252, 254; Mrs. William, 254. For note on the family, 344.
Decemmanestrate, 294.
Declaratory Act, 138, 235, 241.
Dean, Forest of, 306.
Deerfield, Mass., 317.
De Grandian, 222.
Delacroix, 253.
De Lisle, Christian, 305; Giles and Alice, 304, 305, 309.
Deming, Mrs., 212.
Denison, Nathaniel and Robert, 151, 153, 199.
Dent, Isaac, 179, 203; (Pearse, Pryce, and Dent), 170.
Depreciation Act, 232.
Derney, Philip, 335.
Desbrow, *i.e.*, Desborough, Major General, 9.
Despencer, 286, 303, 306, 307.
Deverson, Captain, 129, 136, 144, 155.
Devonshire and Reeve, 127, 135, 136, 138, 140.
Devonshire, 1, 267, 268, 270, 271, 285, 312, 315, 316.
Dingle, 22, 339.
Directory, the French, 252, 255.
Dock Square, Boston, 110, 118.
Dodsley, 172.
D'Oily, Edith, 292, 293; Henry, 295, 298, 301; Henry, junior, 293, 298; Robert, 290, 291.
Dollinge, 337.
"Dolphin," the, 176.
Dorchester, Baron (see Carleton), 251, 267; Earl of (see Milton), 44, 267; Heights, 208.
Dorsetshire, 44, 268, 304, 314.
Douglas, William, 199.
"Dove," the, 39.
Dover, 19, 310.
Dowling and Brett, 174; Dowling, Brett, and Hardingham, 169, 185, 199, 230; Dowling and Son, 246.
Doyley, the fee of, 302; D'Oyly, Henry, 298.
Drake, S. A., 119; S. G., 119, 343.
Drummond, 125.
Dublin, 23-27, 29, 34, 42, 44, 53, 94, 105, 111, 114, 268, 270, 272, 274, 275, 280, 314, 315, 318, 341, 342.
Dundas, Captain, 200.
Dunkin (John), 289, 294, 300.
Dunkirk, 56.
Dunlap and Wilson, 210.
Dunton, John, 90.
Durrel, Captain, 97.
Durroy, Elizabeth (m. Amory), 45, 103.
Durston, 315.

Easton in Gordano, 303, 305.
Edinburgh, 169.
Edward, Prince (Duke of Kent), 260.
Edolls, Ann, 98.
Edmondson, 280, 281.
Elam, Samuel, 170; Messrs., 124.
Eleanor, sister of Henry III., 264.
Eley, 36.
Eliot, 79; Mrs., 157, 160, 165, 216; Samuel, 156-158, 160-162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 210, 216, 246.
Elliatt, Henry, 11; Robert, 11; Elliot, Ann (Longe), 11.
Elliott, Ann (m. Amory), 11, 17, 22, 25; Ann, or Anne, wife of Robert, 10, 11, 22, 25; Robert, 10, 11,

337; Robert, son of Robert and Ann, 24; William, 17.
Elyas the miller, 301.
Emery, Emmerich, Emmery, Emory. See under Amory.
Emmanuel College, 7.
Emmerson, Mrs., 250.
Emmons, Mrs., 87.
Emperor, the, 59; (Napoleon), 260; Empire (the French), 261.
Enderby (Buxton and Enderby), 176.
England, 48, 50, 56, 58, 73, 75, 78, 80, 97, 98, 107, 114, 120, 122, 125, 126, 130, 133, 135, 139, 141, 147, 156, 157, 181, 185, 190-192, 203-206, 212-214, 218, 235, 236, 239-241, 243, 245, 246, 248, 251, 252, 255, 258, 261, 265, 275, 276, 287, 288, 301, 303, 309, 336, 342, 344.
English Continent (of America), 93.
Ennis, 317.
Ernst, Miss Helen Amory, 279.
Erving, John, 237.
Essex, county of, 283, 291; Earl of (Capel), 25, 341; Earl of (Parliamentary General), 16.
Essex Street, Boston, 122, 249.
Eston-cum-Crokane, 305.
Europe, 50, 110, 111, 227, 243, 252, 260.
European Magazine, 108, 118.
Evesham, 265.
Ewyas, 306.
Exeter, 281.
Exmoor, 310.
Eyer (Milloway and Eyer), 125, 132.
Eynsham, 290, 299.
Eyre, Benjamin and Co., 169; Eyre and Watts, 55.
Factor, 68, 88.
Fairbairn, 282.
Fairfax, General, 12, 15, 16.
Falkland Islands, 171.
Faneuil Hall, 121, 147.
Faro, 57.
Faukeshall (Vauxhall), 306, 307.
Fayal, 47, 48, 63.
Fludger, Samuel and Co., 125.
Fluker, 124.
Folger, Captain Tom, 226.
Foord, Edmund, 7; William, 7.
Forrest, 113.
Fort Hill, 190.
Foster, 335; James, 188.
France, 42, 81, 209, 219, 227, 229, 232, 236, 245, 252, 253, 257, 260, 265, 286, 300, 309, 344.
Francis, 59.
Franklin, Benjamin, 82, 158, 235, 236; Michael, 133.
Frazer, Nathan, 260; Rebecca, 260.
Frazier (Lane, Son and Frazier), 151.
Freeman (Edward A.), 2; Captain, 136, 142, 144; Freman, Robert, 76.
French Convention, 251.
Fringford, 282.
Frolesworth, 291.
Fulewelle, 290, 293; Adeline de, 293.
Federalists, 260.
Fencote, 305.
Ferrers, John de, 308.
Fiennes, Colonel, 12, 16.
Fidling, Francis, 41.
First Consul, the, 256.
Fisher, Francis, 58, 59; William, 54, 58, 59.
Fistler, James, 132.
Fitz Alan, John, 302, 305.

Fitzgerald, John, 339.
Fitz Lawrence, William, 310.
Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry, 264, 346; Elizabeth (m. Amory), 23, 42, 275; Raymond, 43, 106, 263; Patrick, 23, 346.
Fitz Nigel, 303.
"F. L. G.," 89.
"Flamborough," the, 78, 79.
Flanders, 245, 309.
Flawarth, 305.
Fleet, Captain, 124, 125.
Floating Harbour, Bristol, 15.
Fulnetby, Sir John de, 310.
Funeholt, 292.

Gage, General, 180, 181, 202, 203.
Gait, Robert de, 298.
Galaspie, Captain, 132-134.
Gale, William, 142.
Galway, 21, 25, 28, 43, 44, 71, 88, 97, 340-342.
Galy, 18, 23, 313, 339.
Garriearde, or Garryard, 22, 105, 339.
Gealey, 119.
Gencham, 181.
General Court (Massachusetts), 91, 138.
"Gentleman's Magazine," 263, 264.
George. See King.
Georgia, 254.
Geronio, 50.
Gerrish, Benjamin, John, Samuel, 343.
Gerry, 212.
Geyer, Frederick William, 259, 260; junior, 260; Nancy (m. Amory), 259.
Gibbs, Colonel, 39.
Gibraltar, 50.
Gibbons, John, and Sons, 169.
Giffin (Townsend and Giffin), 185.
Gilbert, 290; Sir John, 342.
Gill (Wright and Gill), 124.
Gillam, Mrs. Jane, 148.
Gislebt, 290, 292.
Glasgow, 169, 302.
Glassford, Gordon and Co., 135; James, 135.
Glastonbury, 3, 311, 313. Glastoniensis, Joannes, 312.
Glendy or Glendie, Dr. John, 25, 26, 342.
Gloucester, 306; Earl of, 281; Massachusetts, 89.
Gloucestershire, 268, 282, 288, 307.
Godin and Conseillère, 83, 84; Stephen, 73.
Godington, 309, 313.
Godmanston, 268, 269.
Godstow, 292, 296, 297, 302, 311.
Good, Edward, and Co., 185.
Goosecreek, 81.
Gordon (Captain?), 200; Glassford, Gordon and Co., 135.
Gouy, *le Capitaine*, 48.
Gragg, 250.
Graham, 62.
Granary Burying Ground, 168.
Grangebridge, 42.
Gray, 254.
Great Britain, 53, 59, 128, 131, 139, 152, 153, 154, 156, 180, 184, 186, 187, 190, 192, 193, 195, 197-200, 205, 218, 219, 231, 241-243, 245.
Great Mylton, 281.
Great St. Helen's, 169.
Greene, Benjamin, 110; John, 110; Katherine (m. Amory, *q.v.*), 110; Rufus, 110, 259, 346; Thomas, 110; William, 220.

Greenleaf, 134; Stephen, 142, 149; William, 149.
Grenville, 122, 126.
Gridley, Richard, 132.
Griffin, 135.
Guerrish, Madam, 94, 343.
Guinea, 53, 60.

Haden, Captain, 220, 221.
Hakeway, 315.
Halghton, 306.
Halifax, Nova Scotia, 113, 147, 211, 217, 218, 236, 260.
Hall, Captain, 143, 149, 164.
Hameldon, 300.
Hancock, John, 142, 147, 163, 210-212.
Handfield, Major, 218.
Handlo, de, 303.
Hankey, 132.
"Hannah," the, 146, 148.
Hardingham, 169, 185.
Harleian Society, 270, 281, 283.
Harlow, Captain, 253.
Harris (Smith, Harris and Hatfield), 169, 185.
Harrison (Barnard and Harrison), 131, 133, 137; Barnard and Spragg, 142-144, 146, 148; Gilbert, 199; and Wilson, 169; Harrisons and Ansley, 173, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182-184, 186, 188, 200-202, 204-207, 209, 213, 238, 247.
Hart *als.* Blacker, Thomas, 20.
Hartley, Thomas, 169.
Harwich, 58.
Harvard College, 92, 109.
Hasted, 17.
Hastings, 290; Mrs. Elizabeth, 38.
Hatch, Captain, 143.
Hatfield, 169, 185.
Hatton Street, London, 345.
Havard, 185.
Hawkesworth, Mary, 317.
Hayley, George, 127, 142, 144, 150, 161, 214; "Hayley," the, 176.
Headington, 305, 309.
Headland, Captain John, 57.
Heale's Close, 5.
Henry. See King.
Hercules, 38.
Hereford, 337.
Hertfordshire, 306.
Herreys, 280.
Hewetson, Michael, 27.
Higgins, 112.
Higginson, 155.
High Littleton, 311.
Hildersley, Captain R. N., 77, 79.
Hill, 8; Captain, 181; Charles, 79.
Hills, Elizabeth, 315.
Hinckley, 225.
Hobbey, Sir Charles, 90.
Hobbs, John, 313.
Hodgson, John, 220-222.
Holbeche, 306.
Holbrook, Abiezer, 89.
Holland, 58, 59, 219, 229, 231, 232, 236, 245, 252.
Hollis Street, 109.
Hollingbourne, 17.
Holmes, Ann (m. Coffin), 91, 109; Ebenezer, 91, 92; Francis, 76, 78, 80, 89, 90, 92, 97, 119; Francis, junior, 76, 82, 100, 279; Isaac, 95, 102; Nathaniel, 95; Rebecca (m. Amory), 91-95, 100-103, 105-107, 109, 119, 167, 168; Rebecca

(Wharfe), 89, 91-93, 102; William, 76.
Holt, Captain, 55.
Hood, Sir Samuel, Captain, Admiral, and Viscount, 165, 173, 203, 258, 332.
Hopton, Sir Ralph, 8.
Horte, Edmond, 337.
Hoskins, Mary (Amory), 22, 71, 274.
Hospital of St. John the Baptist, 292, 301.
House of Commons, 45; of Lords, 44.
Houston, Ann (m. Ramsey), 26, 28, 29, 42, 52, 72, 97, 98, 100, 103, 107; David, 26, 27; David, junior, 26, 97, 100; Elen, 27; George, 26, 27, 100; Humphrey, 26, 29; Maran, 27; Rebecca, widow (m. secondly, Amory), 26-29, 94, 102.
Howe, General, 205, 208, 209; Robert, 73, 81.
Howes, Job, 37.
Hudson, 66.
Hughes, Henry, 55, 59; Hughes and Whitelock, 143.
Huish, Mark, 175, 182, 183, 199, 204.
Hull, Captain, 148; Isaac, 256. Hull, Yorkshire, 164.
Hunter and Bayley, 142. Hunter, Captain, 124, 131.
Huntington, Benjamin, 244.
Hurdecote, 311.
Huske, John, 122.
Hutchins, 267, 268.
Hutchinson, Thomas, 121, 126, 138, 165, 181, 195.
Hyde, Nathan, 155; Robert, 155.

Ilminster, 9, 315.
India (East India) Company, 182.
Indians, Red, 41, 65, 71, 75, 76.
Ingerson, James, 34; Margaret, 34.
Inman, Susanna, 258, 332.
Insula, Egidio de (Giles de Lisle), 303.
Ireland, 14, 20, 21, 23, 97, 103, 107, 111, 213, 234, 235, 263, 275, 317, 318, 339, 340-342.
Irving, 213; Washington, 261.
Italy, 264.
Izard, Ralph, 37.

Jacobs, Philip, 142.
Jacobson, Captain, 151.
Jackson, 162; Captain, 124.
Jaffrey, or Jaffreys, George, 61, 62.
Jamaica, 28, 34, 71. Jamaica Plain, 239.
James, 176. James Island, 90.
Jamieson, Nicholas, 135.
Jarvis, Captain, 137, 146, 148, 149, 209; Philip, 209.
Jeffreys, William, 79.
Jenkens, Major, 9.
Jenkins, Eliza, 344.
Jennings, 221.
Jervis, Humphrey, 25, 342.
Jessop, 16.
Jesuits, 63.
John, 69.
"John," the, 251.
Johnson, Captain, 152; last Proprietary Governor S. C., 75, 77-79; second Royal Governor S. C., 86; John, 228; Joseph, 38, 98, 273; Sir Nathaniel, 38.
Johonnot, Peter, 208.
Johonnots, the Miss, 218.
Jones, 165.

Jones, Havard and Jones, 185.
Joy, Benjamin, 251.
"Julius Cæsar," the, 211.

Kame, 176, 177.
Kennebec, 232.
Kennett, 289, 293, 295, 296, 300, 301, 310.
Kerry, Baron, 23, 335, 339, 346; the County, 22, 24, 104, 105, 107, 280, 339, 341; Earl of, 264, 346; Knight of, 339.
Key Island, 343.
Keybeg Island, 343.
Keynsham, 300, 311.
Killy and Sime, 151.
Kincaid, Alexander, 169.
King Æthelred the Unready, 290; Swegen, 290; Canute, 290; William the Conqueror, 287; .... Henry I., 294; Stephen, 292; Henry II., 264, 284; Richard I., 285; John, 300; Henry III., 264, 287, 294, 301; Edward I., 302, 303; Edward II., 282, 285, 286 (as Prince, 303), 304-308; Edward III.. 286, 308-310 .... Henry VI., 285; Edward IV., 284 .... Henry VIII., 312, 313; .... James I., 272; Charles I., 272, 337; Charles II., 19, 21, 270, 339, 341; James II., 342; William III., 50; .... George I., 76, 77, 81, 342; George II., 285; George III., 128, 151-153, 159, 181, 193, 194, 198, 205, 230, 242, 243.
King, Gregory, 336.
King's Chapel, Boston, 120, 344.
King of France, 81, 310.
King Street, Boston, 89, 91, 119-122, 135, 147, 166.
Kinsale, 340.
Kippen and Son, 134.
Knaresborough, 306.
Knights Templars, 291, 292, 299.
Knox, Mrs., 345.

Lacy, Sir John, 14, 21; Rowland, 21.
Lafayette, Marquis de, 260.
Lancaster, Earl of, 286, 306-308; in Massachusetts, 203.
Lane and Co., 124; Sir George, 341; Son and Frazier, 151.
Lang, 169.
Langford, 6, 336.
Latin School, 109.
Lawrence, Walter, 337.
Lawson, Andrew, 34.
Lazy Hill, 27, 29, 97.
Learned, Colonel, 208.
Leary, Daniel, 62.
Leatham, Walker and Co., 145.
Lechmere, Lord, 99, 343; Thomas, 94, 99, 343.
Lecky, W. E. H., 339.
Lee, Richard, 281. Lee, Wright and and James, 176.
Leeds, 128.
Leghorn, 59, 261.
Leicester, Countess of, 264; Earl of, 264, 265; Leicestershire, 291, 306, 311, 313, 314.
Leigh, of Ridge, 269.
Leigh, of Stoneleigh, 23; Sir Thomas, 23.
Leland, 309, 338.
Leonard, 130.

Lever's New England Coffee House, 168.
Leverett, 90.
Lewis, Job, 94, 344.
Lexington, 203.
"Liberty," the, 147
Liffey, the, 25, 27.
Lilestock, 311.
Limerick, 88, 102, 112, 113, 274.
Lincoln, 295, 300.
Lincoln County, Kennebec, 232.
Lindal's Row, 93.
Linzee, Captain John, R.N., 258, 332, 333; Hannah Rowe (m. Amory), 258, 332.
Lisbon, 52, 54-57, 59, 60.
Listowel, 23.
Littlemore, 291.
Liverpool, 128, 318.
Lixnaw, 23.
Lloyd, 218.
Locke, John, 30, 31.
Locking, 5, 336.
Lodge, author of the "Peerage," 267, 288.
Lombardy, 260.
London, 23, 30, 57, 58, 60, 62, 74, 78, 88, 97, 102, 107, 108, 114, 116, 127, 141, 156, 158, 163-165, 168, 169, 182, 210, 217, 219, 230, 240, 251, 263, 275, 276, 281, 282, 284, 303, 305, 317, 345; Bishop of, 296.
Longe, Ann, 11; Roger, 11.
Long Wharf, 343.
Lord Palatine, 45; Lords Proprietors of Carolina, 30, 35, 74-76, 78, 86.
Louis XIV., 50.
"Louis Renas," 264.
Lowder, 217, 218.
Lowell (John), 220, 230.
Lower, 272, 273.
Loxton, 3, 318, 334.
Luce, Madam, 94, 343; Peter, 343.
Ludwell, Colonel, 31.
Luffe, Joan (m. Backwell), 6, 7; John, 6, 7, 336.
Lusignan, 287.
Lutterworth, 306, 314.
Luttrell, Katharine, 44; Simon, 44.
Lyde, Captain, 162, 170, 188, 192, 199; N. B., 213.
"Lydia," the, 145, 203.
Lynde, Benjamin, 91.

McCrady, 28, 343.
McDonnell, 43.
Machias, 217.
McMahon, 104, 114; Lucy, 112, 117. 118, 280; Thomas Amory, 114, 116, 117.
McMasters, 162.
Mackrill Lane, 89.
Mackworth, Arthur, 89; Rebecca, 89; Mackworth's or Mackey's Point, 89.
Macy, William, 7.
Madeira, 48, 49, 57, 61.
Magdalen College, 284, 292.
Maine, 97.
Manchester, 168.
Manduit, Israel, 181.
Mangerton, Mount, 339.
Marblehead, 200, 202, 203.
Marie Antoinette, 260.
Marlborough, Duke of, 50.
"Mars," the, 225.
Marseilles, 54.
Marsh, 305; Marsh Gibwyn, 305, 309.

Marshall, Captain, 130-133; Dr., 36, 39, 40.
Marston, Dr. Edward, 40; Mr., 246.
Martha's Vineyard, 70.
Martock, 311.
Massachusetts, 116, 180, 216, 217, 240, 243, 317, 318, 337; Assembly, 123, 125, 216, 217, 242; General Court, 225, 232, 235, 237, 247; Legislature, 239.
Massacre of the Swiss Guards, 253.
Mather, Cotton, 91, 95.
Mathewson, John, 169.
Matroses, the, 90.
Mayhew, 120, 138.
Mayor's Calendar, Bristol, 15.
Mayor of the Staple, 23.
Mazogan, 57.
Meaders, 38.
Mein, 160, 162.
"Melampus," the, 251.
Meliken, Captain, 130.
Mendip Hills, 1, 310.
Merchant Venturers, 11-13, 18, 20, 128.
Mercury, 38; Mercury Volante, 55-58, 60.
Merkyate, 298.
Merton, 299.
Micauli, 261.
Middelbourg, 176.
Middle Temple, 43, 275.
Middleton, Arthur, 28, 49, 51, 54, 64, 66-68, 70, 72-74, 77, 80-86, 88, 100, 102, 343; junior, 129; Henry, 83, 129; Nathaniel Russell, 129; Sarah (Amory), 49, 51, 66, 68, 70, 73, 81, 82, 99, 129; of Stockeld, 67, 343; Thomas, 76, 83, 129; William, 129.
Mifflin, Thomas, 157, 160, 161, 212, 215, 216.
Miles, 94, 344.
Milloway and Eyer, 125, 132.
Milton Abbas, 267; Milton, Baron, 44, 263, 266-268, 272, 275; in Massachusetts, 228, 343.
Minorca, 50.
Mobile, 72.
Molasses Act, 158, 159.
Mollineux, 141.
Monke or Monck, Elizabeth, 90; George, 90.
Monkesham, 305, 309, 310.
Monmouth, Duke of, 336.
de Montfort, Amory (Amauri), 264; Amaury, 264; Richard, 265; Simon, 264, 265; Montfort l'Amauri, 264; de Montfort de Beldésert, 264, 304.
Moore, Captain, 210; James, 37, 77-79; Roger, 76.
Moors, the, 57.
Morgan, 216.
Morse, Dr., 318; Richard, C., 318.
Mortimer, Reginald de, 301.
Moseley, Edward, 96.
Mullin, Alan, 99, 101.
Myles, Samuel, 344.
Myssenden, 312.

Nancy, 41.
Nantes, 227, 344.
Nantucket, 110, 209, 258, 259.
Naples, 58.
Napoleon, 260.
Neck, the, Boston, 123.
Negro slaves, 38, 39, 41, 53, 59, 66, 69, 71, 94, 96, 97.

Newbury, Mass., 211, 221; Newbury Street, Boston, 259.
Newcastle, 305, 306.
New England, 49, 61, 62, 66, 67, 87, 107, 110, 178, 190, 216, 262, 337; Coffee House, 168; Courant, 82.
Newell, Mary (Amory), 110.
Newell, Timothy, 110, 136, 142, 208, 236, 345.
Newfoundland, 60.
New Hampshire, 97, 122, 246.
New London, 101.
Newport, R. I., 203, 237.
Newton, Captain, 62.
New York, 49, 80, 87, 88, 97, 111, 125, 129, 141, 211, 217, 221, 228-230, 240, 241, 243, 262, 317, 318, 344.
Nicoll, Captain, 161.
North, Lord, 170, 191, 192, 241.
North America, 127.
Northamptonshire, 308.
North Carolina, 96.
North Church, the, 343.
North End, the, 121, 123.
Northfield, 131.
Northgate, 309.
Normandy, 264, 287, 288, 291.
Norwich, 169; in Connecticut, 244.
Nova Scotia, 180, 318.

Obbeleye (Ubley), 303.
O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, 44, 45.
O'Connor, Charles, 42; Julia, 42, 105-107, 118, 287, 316; O'Connor Kerry, Charles Roe, 42.
Oddington or Ottendun, 298, 299, 304.
Olive, 152.
Oliver (Vere Langford), 317.
Ommaney and Co., 181.
Orange Street, Boston, 95, 109.
Oriel College, 284.
Ormerod, "History of Cheshire," 313.
Ormond, Captain, 134, 135; Duke of, 24, 340.
Oseney Abbey, 291-294, 298, 301, 302.
Osse, William del, 299.
Otis (James), 120.
Otmoore, 299.
Ottery, 313.
Oursel, Madame, 54, 96; Miss Betty, 54; Nicholas, 46-49, 51, 53, 60, 88, 95, 102.
Over Compton, 314.
Owen Thomas, 164.
Oxford, 291, 292, 300-302, 305, 344; Earl of, 312; Oxfordshire, 281, 282, 284, 285, 291, 303, 305, 310, 312.

Pacquereau, 48.
Palermo, 261.
Pall Mall, 106.
Paine, Christopher, 3.
Palmer, Captain, 83.
de Parco, Sir Thomas, 291.
Park Street, 118, 168, 258.
Parker, Daniel, 254.
Paris, 252, 253, 260, 261.
Parliament, 12, 19, 127, 138, 139, 151-153, 180, 182, 187, 189, 191, 192, 196, 197, 202, 204, 230, 234, 235, 240, 248, 306, 308; of Ireland, 24, 336, 339.
Parphey, 14, 18, 19.
Parsons, 148, 315; Moses, 142.
Paternoster Row, 172.
Paulet, Lord, 12.

Pavely, Walter de, 308.
Payne, Edward, 110, 142, 157, 167, 214; Hon. Mr., 199; Rebecca (Amory), 110, 212, 250; R. T., 221; William, 199.
Peace of Utrecht, 59.
Peare, Captain, 79.
Pearse, Pryce and Dent, 170.
Peche, Matthew, 309.
Peirs, Peternell (m. Amerye), 314, 318.
Peloquin, 48.
Pemberton, 90.
Pembroke, Earl of, 307.
Penobscot, 217.
Pennsylvania, 49, 87.
Penny, 221.
Perez, Antonio, 52.
Petersheys, Devon, 312.
Philadelphia, 88, 92, 102, 111, 162, 163, 185, 201, 210, 212, 262.
Philip of Anjou, 50.
Phillips, Nathaniel and Faulkner, 168, 199.
"Phœnix," the, 79.
Pico Flores, 61.
Pickering, 252.
Piety, T., 172.
Pigeon, Major, 90.
Pinckney, 252.
Pirates, 74.
Piscataqua, 61, 70.
Pitte, Maud, 337.
Pitts, Edward, 133, 152; James, 90.
Pitt, William, 138.
Plenty, 334.
Plessis, Hugh de, 298, 302, 303.
Plumley or Plomley, 5, 6, 336.
Plumstead (or Plimpton) Perry, 308-310.
Plymouth, 58, 308, 311; in Massachusetts, 188, 213.
Pocotaligo, 75.
Poignant, de, Thomas, 300.
Pompey, 41.
Ponta Delgada, 56.
Popham, Sir John, 12.
"Poor Jack," the, 62.
Portmorone, 50.
Portsmouth, 59, 60; in New Hampshire, 70.
Port Plate, 256.
Portugal, 58, 59, 286.
Post Office, Boston, 119.
Power, Sir Walter, 282, 304.
Prage, 56.
Preble, Commodore, 257.
Price, E., 221.
Priestley, John and Sons, 199; William, 185.
Prime, Richard, and Co., 169, 185, 201, 205, 237.
Protector, the, 270.
Providence, R.I., 184-186, 237, 262.
Providence Purchase, the, 110.
Prussia, 50, 59, 343.
Pryce, 170.
Public Library, Charleston, 39.
Public Record Office, Dublin, 44, 274.
Purbeck, Forest of, 306.
Pyrye (Woodperry), 297, 298, 301, 303.

Quaker Lane, 93, 119.
Quantock Hills, 315.
Quarry, Mrs., 28, 99.
Quebec, 209, 217, 250, 258; Quebec Act, 191.
Queen: Elizabeth, 17, 271, 272, 285,

339; Henrietta Maria, 337; Catherine, 24; Anne, 52, 86, 275; Victoria, 260.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 308.
Ramsey, Ann (Houston, *q. v.*); Historian of South Carolina, 37; James, 29, 42, 51, 52, 97, 100.
Rashleigh, 152.
Rat-trap, the, 33.
Rawlins, Edward, 36.
Rayner, Dawson, and Co., 132, 143, 149, 199.
Record Office, London, 284, 285.
Reed, J., 212; Reed Island, 343.
Reeks, the, 339.
Reeve, William, 127.
Reid, Patrick, 210.
Revenue Acts, 159.
Rhett, Sarah, 35-37, 48, 51-53, 57, 64, 65, 68, 71, 72, 73, 80-85, 278; William, 35-38, 49, 53, 64-74, 76-78, 82, 83, 85.
Rhode Island, 87, 88, 97, 102, 217, 242.
Rhodes, Captain, 52.
Richard, King of the Romans, 293.
Richardson, Captain, 213.
Rietstap, 282.
Rigals, 230.
Roberts, Francis, 334.
Robertson, General, 208.
Robinson, Henry Crabb, 107.
Robson, 278; Captain, 166.
Rochester, 303.
Rodney, Admiral, 108.
Rogers, Samuel, 178, 211, 212, 238.
Rokesmylle, 312.
Rolls Office, 1.
Roosevelt, Anna Catherine (m. Amory), 317.
Ross, Captain, 210; William, 209.
Rotch, Francis, 175.
Rotherfield Greys, 305.
Rowe, John, 126, 145, 181, 258, 332, 333.
Rowlands, Robert, 335.
Roxbury, 90, 221, 278, 279.
Rupert, Prince, 12, 13, 16.
Ruggles, Timothy, 181.
Russell, Elizabeth, 337; Paul, 337; Richard, 337; Sarah, 337; Theodore, 342.
Russia, 343.

Saffee, 57.
St. Alphege, 315.
St. Amand, Almeric de, 310.
St. Andrew's, Dublin, 27, 29; Wells, 346.
St. Ann's or St. Anne's, Brislington, 14, 18, 20, 104, 106, 107, 338.
St. Augustine, Florida, 75.
St. Augustine's, London, 314.
St. Brandon's Hill, 339.
St. Cuthbert's, Wells, 3, 314, 346.
St. Clement's, Oxford, 344.
St. James's, Dingle, 339.
St. John's, Glastonbury, 3, 311.
St. Kitts, 317.
St. Lawrence Jewry, 216.
St. Loe, Jane, 268.
St. Mary's, Wrington, 3.
St. Michael's, Azores, 56, 57, 61; Dublin, 25, 26, 342.
St. Nicholas, Bristol, 10-16.
St. Philip's, Charleston, 40, 74.
St. Teath by Camelford, 283, 315.

St. Walery, Honour of, 298.
Salem, 182, 183, 188, 200, 202.
Salisbury, 110, 310.
"Sally," the, 252, 256.
Saltmore, 311.
Sandford, 292.
Sandhall, 306.
"Sandwich," the, 257.
Sargeaunt, John, 45.
Savoy, 50, 59.
Scotland, 234, 240, 245.
Scott, Captain, 131, 133, 144, 145, 151, 163, 170, 176, 200, 238; James, 145.
"Seahorse," the, 344.
Selwood, 310.
Sewall's Diary, 90.
Sexington, 302, 309.
Shaley, Captain, 176.
Shand, Captain, 144.
Shapley, Captain, 177.
Sheaffe, Mrs., 218, 250.
Sheffield, 169, 201.
Sheppard, Captain, 205.
Shrewsbury, Ralph of, 313.
Shronehill, 267.
Shute, Governor, 97.
Sime, 151.
Simond and Hankey, 132.
Simpson, 246.
Sinnott, James, 338.
Six Mile Bridge, 343.
Skipwith, 253.
Smith, 129, 317; Captain, 162; Doctor, 220; James, 94, 343; Madam, 94; Richard, 163; Thomas, Landgrave, 40, 343; Smith, Harris, and Hatfield, 169, 185, 199.
Smuggling Acts, 120.
Somerby, H. G., 1, 2, 271, 280, 281, 313, 315, 318.
Somerset House, 270.
Somersetshire, 1, 3, 4, 10, 98, 107, 128, 268, 276, 283, 285, 291, 300, 304, 305, 311-313, 315, 316, 339.
Somerton, 311.
Sons of Liberty, 123, 135.
Sothell, 30, 31.
South Carolina, 74, 82, 85, 88, 90, 96, 97, 102, 129, 273.
South End, the, 96.
South Molton, 268, 313-315.
Southover, Wells, 314, 346.
Spaight, Thomas, 111-113; William, 114.
Spain, 50, 75, 81, 171, 219, 232, 236.
Spellesbury, 312.
Spooner, 155.
Stamp Act, 121, 124, 128, 129, 131, 132, 135, 137-139.
Staple, Mayor of the, 23; Merchants of the, 18.
State Street, Boston, 119.
Staundon, 306.
Staunton, 302, 309, 310.
Steevens, 218.
Stephens, Thomas, 17.
Sterling, 203.
Stoakes, 17.
Stockeld, 67, 344.
Stockport, 169.
Stoddard, Secretary, 256.
Stofford, 305.
Stogumber, 315.
Stogursey (Stoke Courcy), 313.
Stoke de l'Isle, 305.
Stone, Captain, 150.
Stoney, Mrs. E., 38.

Storey, Elias, 38; John, 38.
Storrer, Charles, 221.
Stratton, 299.
Studdert, 101, 343.
Sturminster Newton, 301.
Sullivan, Hetty (Mehetable), 337; John, 337; Richard, 337.
Summer Street, 259, 344.
Sumner, General, 239.
Sutton, 311.
Swedes, 62.
Symmes, Captain, 171.

Tailboyes, John, 280; Margaret, 280.
Talbot, Elizabeth, 9, 334, 335; Philippa (Taylor), 335; Robert, 335; Silas, 256, 257.
Talleyrand, 253, 255.
Taunton, 3, 317.
Tavistock Street, 317.
Taylor, 119, 171; Abigail (m. Amory), 110; Joseph, 164, 173, 200, 204, 205; Mrs., 161, 222; Nathaniel, 218; Philippa (m. Talbot), 336; Richard, 336; Samuel, 169; William, 221, 229, 230; Winslow, 161.
Tea, Glass and Paper Act, 158, 159, 162, 164.
Temple, the (Paris), 260, 261.
Temple Place, Boston, 259.
Terceira, 47, 55, 57, 60, 69, 87, 88, 93, 102.
Texel, the, 58.
Thame, 288, 293-295, 298.
Thatcher, "Citizen," 260.
Tholthorp, 305.
"Thomas," the, 204.
Thomond, Earl of, 44, 343.
Thompson *als.* Creagh, 105.
Thornborough, 301-305, 309.
Threadneedle Street, 168.
Three Cocked Hats, the, 109.
Thurloe, 16.
Thynne, F., 273.
Tilden, Captain, 253, 255.
Tilloch, John, 169.
Tilly, John, 337.
Time, Walter de, 296.
Timmins, 213, 214.
Tober, 213.
Tolzey, the, 16, 337, 338.
Tory, 245.
Tours, 288.
Tower of London, 311.
Towgood, Richard, 11, 16.
Town House, Boston, 94, 119, 147.
Townsend, Colonel, 96; and Giffin, 185.
Townshend (Charles), 170.
Travers, Robert, 142.
Tremont Street, 120, 259, 345.
Trescot, Sarah, 273.
Trinity Church, Boston, 91, 110, 259, 344.
Trinity College, Dublin, 27, 42.
Tripoli, 256.
Trott, Nicholas, 36, 38, 45, 74-78, 81, 82-86.
Tunstall, Sir Richard, 280.
Turner, W. H., 284, 286, 288, 290, 297, 310, 314, 340.
Tutbury, 307.
Tyson, Edward, 19.

Ubley, 303, 305, 308.
Union Club, 118.
Utrecht, 59.

United States of America, 243, 244, 252, 255, 256, 262, 267; United States Bank, Boston, 119.

Vandaleur, Elizabeth, 104; John, 104.
Vassall, Leonard, 259.
Vauxhall, 306.
Verdon, Bertrand de, 306; Rauffe, 308; Theobald, 306, 308.
Virginia, 158, 227, 246.

Wakefield, 108, 263; Letter, 118, 263, 266, 275.
Wales, 306, 308.
Walker, 145.
Wall, 334, 335.
Wallace, Alexander, 185; Hugh, 185; William, 344.
Wallingford, 291, 308; Honour of, 296.
Walpole, Horace, 271.
Wansor (*query*, Windsor? for Eton?), 73.
Ward, Joseph, 38.
Warren, Love, 20.
Warwick, 128.
Washington (City), 262; General, 208, 212, 227, 228, 261; Street, 95, 109, 259.
Waterloo, 261.
Waters, Captain, 228.
Watertown, 209.
Watson, Brook, 133.
Wayneman, 282.
Weedon, William, 45.
Wellington, Duke of, 258.
Wells, 3, 4, 9, 336, 337, 346.
Welsh Back, 15.
Wendlebury, 294, 299.
Were (Wier or Wyer), Joshua, 95, 344; Nancy (m. Amory), 344.
Werne, 311.
Westcote, 270.
Westhull, 293.
West Indies, 28, 43, 79.
Westminster, 45.
Weston, 290, 293, 295, 299.
West Street, 259.
Wharfe, Nathaniel, 89; Rebecca (m. Holmes), 89, 91; Rebecca (Mackworth), 89.
Whawell, James, 169.
Wheeler, 155.
Whig, 244.
Whitaker, 343.
Whitchurch, Somerset, 98.
White, Andrew, 54, 56, 58; Benjamin, 249; George, 21; John, 130.
White Chapel, Bishop's Nymet, 271.
Whitelock, Bread Street, 169.
Whitmore (W. H.), 90.
Whitton, John, 62.
Whitworth, John, 177.
Willard, 246.
Willett, 334.
William. See King.
Willoughby, Robert de, 306.
Williton, 315.
Wilson, Captain, 144, 209; Harrison and, 169; James, 76; Robert and Thomas, 172, 179, 180, 185, 199.
Windsor, 301.
Winford, 291, 304.
Wing, William, 290.
Wishart, Captain, 188.
Wits et Delmestre, 228.
Wlwardeshull, 294.
Woodperry, 305, 309, 310.
Woodside, Patrick, 111.
Woodward, 281.

Woolmer, John, 199.
Worcester, Bishop of, 338.
Worcester, Mass., 199.
Wright and Gill, 124, 127, 152, 156, 185.
Wrington, 1-9, 10, 25, 30, 312, 313, 316, 318, 334-336.
Yamassee Indians, 75.
Yatton, 334.
Yong, Agnes, 3.
Yonge, Miss C. M., 287; Nichus, 3.
York, 305; for New York, 102, 141, 162, 163, 217.
Yorktown, 227.

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